



THE  
HISTORY OF INDIA,

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AS TOLD

---

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

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THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

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EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

BY

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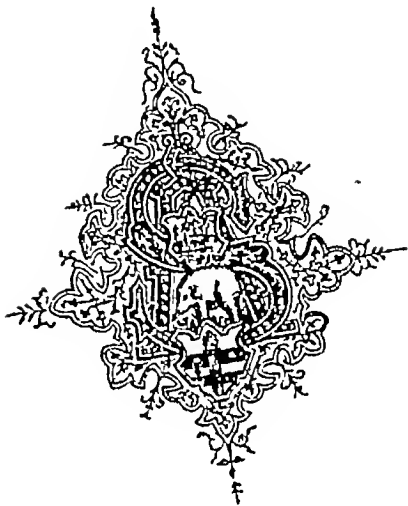
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# I

## PRELIMINARY NOTE.

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[THESE are not the days when the public care to listen to the minor details of an author's life, but Sir H M Elliot's relations and the thinned number of his personal friends—while confidently leaving his posthumous works to speak for themselves—recognise the double duty of placing on record the more prominent events of his career, and of defining under what guarantee his writings are now submitted, so to say, to a new generation of readers. The former will be found in a separate note, but to explain the origin and progressive advance of the present publication, it may be stated that after Sir Henry Elliot's death, at the Cape of Good Hope, his fragmentary papers were brought to this country by his widow. And as the introductory volume of the original work had been issued under the auspices and at the cost of the Government of the Northern Provinces of India, the MSS.—constituting the materials already prepared for the more comprehensive undertaking in thirteen volumes—were placed at the disposal of those liberal promoters of Oriental literature, the Directors of the East India Company, by whom they were submitted to a committee consisting of the late Prof. A. H. Wilson, Mr. Hard Clive Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Mr.



*the editorship Mr Morley's circumstances, at this critical time, are understood to have been subject to important changes, so that, although he entered upon his task with full alacrity and zeal, his devotion soon slackened, and when the MSS were returned four years afterwards, they were found to be in such an imperfectly advanced state as effectually to discourage any hasty selection of a new editor. For which reserve, indeed, there were other and more obvious reasons in the paucity of scholars available in this country, who could alike appreciate the versatile knowledge of the author, and do justice to the critical examination of his leading Oriental authorities, or other abstruse texts, where references still remained imperfect*

*As Lady Elliot's adviser in this matter, a once official colleague of her husband's, and alike a free participator in his literary tastes, I trust that I have secured the best interests of the projected undertaking in the nomination of Professor J Donson, of the Staff College of Sandhurst, who has so satisfactorily completed the first volume, under the revised distribution of the work, now submitted to the public.—EDWARD THOMAS ]*

## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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The foregoing note has described how, sixteen years after Sir Henry Elliot's first volume was given to the world, his papers were placed in my charge for revision and publication

My first intention was to carry out the work on the original plan, but as progress was made in the examination of the voluminous materials, the necessity of some modification became more and more apparent. The work had long been advertised under the revised title which it now bears, as contemplated by the author himself, its bibliographical character having been made subordinate to the historical. It also seemed desirable, after the lapse of so many years, to begin with new matter rather than with a reprint of the old volume. Mature consideration ended with the conviction that the book might open with fresh matter, and that it might at the same time be rendered more available as an historical record

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In the old volume, Sir H Elliot introduced a long note upon "India as known to the Arabs during the first four centuries of the Hijri Era," and under this heading he collected nearly all the materials then within the reach of Europeans. Since that compilation was made, it has been to a great degree superseded by new and more satisfactory translations, and the work of Al Istakhrí has also become available. The translation of Al Idrísí by Jaubert was not quoted by Sir H. Elliot, but an English version of the part relating to India seemed desirable. The subject had thus outgrown the limits of an already lengthy note, and a remodelling of this portion of the book became necessary. The notices of India by the early Arab geographers form a suitable introduction to the History of the Muhammadan Empire in that country. They have accordingly been placed in chronological order at the opening of the work.

Next in date after the Geographers, and next also as regards the antiquity of the subjects dealt with, come the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* and the *Futúhu-l Buldán*. In the latter work, Biládurí describes in one chapter the course of the Arab conquests in Sind. The *Chach-náma* deals more fully with the same subject, and the Arabic original of this work must have been written soon after the events its records, though the Persian version, which

is alone known to us, is of later date. The Arab occupation of Sind was but temporary, it was the precursor, not the commencement, of Musulmán rule in India. On the retreat of the Arabs the government of the country reverted to native princes, and notwithstanding the successes of Mahmúd of Ghazní, the land remained practically independent until its absorption into the Empire during the reign of Akbar in 1592 A. D. Priority of date and of subject thus give the right of precedence to the Historians of Sind, while the isolation of the country and the individuality of its history require that all relating to it should be kept together. The "Early Arab Geographers," and "The Historians of Sind," have therefore been taken first in order, and they are comprised in the present volume.

So far as this volume is concerned, Sir H. Elliot's plan has been followed, and the special histories of Sind form a distinct book, but for the main portion of the work his plan will be changed. In classifying his materials as "General Histories" and "Particular Histories," Sir H. Elliot adopted the example set by previous compilers of catalogues and other bibliographical works, but he sometimes found it convenient to depart from this division. Thus the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* of Ibn Asír and the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, are general histories. but they are classed among the particular his

cause they were written shortly after the fall of the Ghaznvides, and their notices of India are confined almost exclusively to that dynasty

The great objection to this arrangement in an historical work is that it separates, more than necessary, materials relating to the same person and the same subject. Thus the *Tárikh-i Badáúní* of 'Abdu-l Kádír is particularly valuable for the details it gives of the reign and character of Akbar under whom the writer lived. But this is a general history, and so would be far removed from the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, which is a special history comprising only the reign of Akbar. A simple chronological succession, irrespective of the general or special character of the different works, seems

th the single exception of the Sindian writers to be the most convenient historical arrangement, and it will therefore be adopted in the subsequent volumes. This plan will not entirely obviate the objection above noticed, but it will tend greatly to its diminution.

Upon examining the mass of materials left by Sir H. Elliot the bibliographical notices were found for the most part written or sketched out, but with many additional notes and references to be used in a final revision. The Extracts intended to be printed were, with some important exceptions, translated; and where translations had not been prepared, the passages required were generally,

though not always, indicated. The translations are in many different hands. Some few are in Sir H. Elliot's own handwriting, others were made by different English officers, but the majority of them seem to have been the work of *munshis*. With the exception of those made by Sir H. Elliot himself, which will be noted whenever they occur, I have compared the whole of them with the original texts and the errors which I have had to correct have been innumerable and extensive. But with all my care it is to be feared that some misreadings may have escaped detection, for it is very difficult for a reviser to divest himself entirely of the colour given to a text by the original translator. In some cases it would have been easier to make entirely new translations, and many might have been made more readable, but, according to Sir H. Elliot's desire, "the versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connection, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted." the wide difference in the tastes of Europeans and Orientals has, however, induced me to frequently substitute plain language for the turgid metaphors and allusions of the texts.

The notes and remarks of the Editor are enclosed in brackets [ ], but the Introductory **chapt-**

have been rendered necessary by the advance of knowledge. With the unrevised matter, I have used greater freedom, but it has been my constant aim to complete the work in a manner that its designer might have approved

It only remains for me to express my obligations to Mr E Thomas for many valuable hints and suggestions I am also indebted to General Cunningham for several important notes, which I have been careful to acknowledge *in loco*, and for placing at my disposal his valuable Archæological Reports, which are too little known in Europe, and some extracts of which appear in the Appendix

## SIR HENRY ELLIOT'S ORIGINAL PREFACE.

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A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, North Western Provinces, it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammadan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty, but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several volumes, for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each history as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the





nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio \* \* \* Hanc similitudinem scribendi multa secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. \* \* \* Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.”<sup>1</sup> They comprise, for the most part nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations. Without speculation on causes or effects, without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind, and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghal Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that “History is Philosophy teaching by examples,” then there is no Native Indian Historian, and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store, though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator, but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, which adverts on the springs and consequences of political transactions, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them society is never contemplated, either in its conventional usages or recognized privileges, its constituent elements or mutual relations, in its established classes or popular institutions, in its private recesses or habitual intercourses. In notices of commerce, agriculture, internal police, and local judicature, they are equally deficient. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which



sycophancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses, testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged, and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Other nations exhibit the same atrocities, but they are at least spoken of, by some, with indignation and disgust. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index, a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only, and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to have learnt what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings, of his subject race, but, unfortunately, he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammadan "one of the true faith," and of the holy saints of the calendar, he writes with all the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell," and when a Muhammadan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks of

“the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world,” of “the blessed Muharram,” and of “the illustrious Book.” He usually opens with a “Bismillah,” and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age, “at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave,” though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer “*Tiberu ac Neronis res ob metum falsæ*,”<sup>1</sup> there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammadan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Bábús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annal*, I. 1

hercin, it would take these young Brutuses and Phooions a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceedingly magnificent" structures of his Moghal predecessors,<sup>1</sup> it will check his aspirations to learn, that beyond palaces and porticos, temples, and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them, and with the exception of a few saráis<sup>2</sup> and bridges,—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail. The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny, but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have

<sup>1</sup> This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor-General [Lord Ellenborough] at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten, and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations, is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty during one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

<sup>2</sup> The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant saráis were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private liberality.

indulged himself with visions of Jahángír's broad highway from one distant capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distance with saráis and tanks, but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor, nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined milestone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this "delectable alley of trees," that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more enduring monument<sup>1</sup> When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and 'Alí Mardan Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination, that even if the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch, but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Tímúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Bábar exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time), he may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt if anything was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation With respect to 'Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,<sup>2</sup> he will learn to exercise a wise scepticism, on ascertaining

<sup>1</sup> Coryat speaks of the avenue, "the most incomparable I ever beheld"—*Kerr*, ix. 421

<sup>2</sup> It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this phrase Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived at the Court of Sháhjahán, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs"—*Hist des Etats du Grand Mogol* p 5

that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli,<sup>1</sup> that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders, that Kanauj was a favourite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Kalpi,<sup>2</sup> that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many declamatory writers have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession, and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister"

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akbar to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghal Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest, at that calamitous time when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálf seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and

<sup>1</sup> Captain Coverte (1609–10) says that people, even on the high road from Surat to Agra, dared not travel, except in caravans of 400 or 500 men — *Churchill*, viii 252. See Jahángir's Autobiography, 117, *Journ As Soc Benq*, Jan 1850, p 37

<sup>2</sup> *Elphinstone's Hist*, ii 241



pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute, or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated, but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails, for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers, the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection, and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account, the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests, in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will

serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him that, notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement, notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject, we have already, within the half-century of our dominion done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period,<sup>1</sup> and, drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the rulers of India

<sup>1</sup> I speak only with reference to my own Presidency, the North-Western Provinces Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education To the North-Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammadan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before, besides the 400 miles of trunk road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared The bridge of Jannpûr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison, to say nothing of those over the Jua, the Khanaut, and the Kâli-nadî In canals we have been fifty times more effective Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial, and thus even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves, leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress in the Doâb and Rohilkhand The scientific survey alone of the North-Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority, in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akbar, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

## NOTICE OF SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT.

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HENRY MIERS ELLIOT was one of fifteen children of the late John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico Lodge, Westminster, and third son of that gentleman. He was born in the year 1808. Winchester was chosen as the place of his education, and he entered the venerable College of William of Wykeham at the age of ten years. He remained at Winchester eight years, and, ere he left, was one of the senior præfects. During his residence there he devoted himself assiduously to the studies of the institution, and shared in its distinctions, having gained both the silver medals for speaking. Eight years passed at Winchester prepared him worthily for admission into that further temple of learning, which may be regarded, in fact, as an outlying portion of the Wykehamist establishment, New College, Oxford. It happened that at the very time, when his future destination was to be determined an opportunity presented itself, which was then of rare occurrence. From a deficiency of civil servants, consequent upon the consolidation of the British power in India, it became necessary to seek reinforcements, not alone from Haileybury, which was designed merely to supply a fixed contingent, but from new recruiting fields, whence volunteers might be obtained whose varied acquirements might compete with the special training advocated at the East India College. Under the pressure of necessity such an exceptional measure was sanctioned by Parliament. Mr Elliot, having been nominated as a candidate by Campbell Marjoribanks, was the first of the since celebrated list of Competition Wallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India. The exhibition of classical and mathematical knowledge might have been anticipated, but although a year had not elapsed since he left Winchester, where he had no opportunity for pursuing such studies, his proficiency in the Oriental languages proved so remarkable, that the examiners at the India House placed him alone in an honorary class. He had

thus the good fortune to arrive in Calcutta with a reputation that his future career tended not only to maintain, but to exalt. After emerging from his noviciate as a writer (the term by which the younger civilians were then distinguished), he was appointed assistant to the magistrate, and collector of Bareilly, and successively assistant to the political agent and commissioner at Delhi, assistant to the collector and magistrate of Mooradabad, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North West Provinces, and in 1847 he became Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. While holding this office he accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, to the Punjab, upon the resources of which he drew up a most elaborate and exhaustive memoir. Later in point of time, Sir Henry Elliot filled the same important post during the more effective portion of Lord Dalhousie's administration. His distinguished services were freely recognized by the Crown as well as by the Company. He received from the former the honour of a K.C.B.-ship, his reward from the latter was hoped for by the well-wishers of India, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North West Provinces, or the higher office of the Government of Madras. Sir Henry died at the early age of forty-five, while seeking to restore his broken health in the equable climate of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1846 Sir Henry Elliot printed the first volume of his "Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms." The Glossary itself was a pretentious work then meditated, and for which great preparation had been made by the various local governments, as it was intended to comprise the whole series of Indian terms in official use throughout the country, and if, in Professor Wilson's hands, it fell short of public expectation, this was less the fault of the Editor, than of the imperfection of the materials supplied to him, while Sir H. Elliot's "Glossary," on the other hand, received too humble a title, aiming, as it did, at far higher and more important branches of research,—the history and ethnic affinities of the hereditary tribes, with whom he, an isolated Englishman, had lived so long, in intimate official association, settling in detail the state demand upon each member of the Patriarchal Village Communities of North-Western India.

In 1849, Sir Henry Elliot published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammedan India," of which the present publication is the more mature extension.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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Page 33, in line 11, for "Khurásán," read "Sind and Khurásán," and in line 13, insert "Vol. xxi "

Page 129, line 11, for "sixty," read "seventy "

" 158, " 3, after "Balhár," insert "on the land of Barúzi."

" 214, " 20, add, "This translation has been published as No xii New Series, Selections of the Records of the Government of Bombay, 1855 "

" 225, " 20, omit "the."

" 508, add as a note to the article on the Jats, "See Masson's Journey to Kelat, pp. 351-3 , also Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol III. p 209 "

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# EARLY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS.

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## I

### SALSILATU-T<sup>h</sup> TAWÁRÍKH

OF THE

MERCHANT SULAIMÁN,

WITH ADDITIONS BY

ABU' ZAIDU-L HASAN, OF SÍRÁF

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THE earliest information which Europe derived from the writings of the Arabs upon India and the lands adjacent, was that which the Abbé Renaudot published, in the year 1718, under the title "*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahométans qui y allerent dans le 12<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*" By a curious coincidence the work so translated happened to be the earliest work extant of the Arab geographers relating to India. So novel and unexpected was the light thus thrown upon the farther East, that the translator was accused of all sorts of literary crimes. Some asserted his inaccuracy, and pointed out the discrepancies between the statements of his work and the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries in China. He had given no precise account of his manuscripts, hence some did not hesitate to accuse him of downright forgery. Time has shown the emptiness of most of these charges. From error he certainly was not exempt, but his faults and mistakes were those of a man who had to deal with a difficult subject, one which, even a century later, long deterred M. Reinaud from grappling with it.



The MS from which Renaudot made his translation was found by him in the library formed by the minister Colbert. This collection descended to the Comte de Seignelay, and subsequently merged into the Bibliothèque Royale. Here in 1764 the celebrated scholar Deguignes found the MS., and wrote more than one article upon it.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1811 M. Langlès printed the text, and promised a translation, but he had made no progress with the latter at the time of his death in 1824. The text so printed remained in the stores of the Imprimerie Royale until the year 1844, when M. Reinaud published it with a translation and notes, prefacing the whole with a Preliminary Discourse on the early Geography of the East, full of valuable information and criticism. The following observations upon the work are condensed from M. Reinaud's, the translation is also taken from his.<sup>2</sup>

The title which Renaudot gave to his book is not quite accurate. He speaks of two travellers, while there was only one who wrote an account of his own travels. The basis of the work and that which bears in the text the title of Book I, is the account written by a merchant named Sulaimán, who embarked on the Persian Gulf, and made several voyages to India and China. This bears the date 237 A H (851 A D). The second part of the work was written by Abú Zaidul Hasan, of Siráf, a connoisseur, who, although he never travelled in India and China, as he himself expressly states, made it his business to modify and complete the work of Sulaimán, by reading, and by questioning travellers to those countries. Mas'údí met this Abú Zaid at Basra, in 303 A H (916 A D.), and acknowledges to have derived information from him, some of which he reproduced in

<sup>1</sup> Jour des Sav, Novembre, 1764. Notices et Extraits des MSS, Tome 1. See also Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tome xxxvii, Jour Asiatique, iv serie, T. viii, 161, Asiatic Journal, vol. xxxiii., p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> "Relations des Voyages faites par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine" 2 Tom., 24mo, Paris, 1845.

his "Mazloum ul Guld" as a comparison of the following extracts will show. On the other hand, Abû Zaid was indebted to Mas'ûdî for some of his statements. He never mentions him by name, but refers to him as a "trustworthy person." The two works have much in common, but Mas'ûdî is generally more detailed. Abû Zaid finishes his work with these words: "Such is the most interesting narration I have heard among the many accounts to which maritime adventure has given birth. I have refrained from recording the false stories which sailors tell, and which the narrators themselves do not believe. A faithful account although short, is preferable to all. It is God who guides us in the right way."

#### EXTRACT

#### *Observations on the Countries of India and China and their Sovereigns*

The inhabitants of India and China agree that there are four great or principal kings in the world. They place the king of the Arabs (Khalif of Baghdâd) at the head of these, for it is admitted without dispute that he is the greatest of kings. First in wealth, and in the splendour of his Court, but above all, as chief of that sublime religion which nothing excels. The king of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs. After him comes the king of the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and lastly the Balharâ, prince of the men who have their ears pierced.

The Balharâ<sup>2</sup> is the most eminent of the princes of India, and the Indians acknowledge his superiority. Every prince in India is master in his own state, but all pay homage to the supremacy of the Balharâ. The representatives sent by the Balharâ to other princes are received with most profound respect in order to show him honour. He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs. He has many horses and elephants, and immense wealth. The coins which pass in his country are the Tâtariya dirhams,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> [See Reinaud's *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 19, and Aboulféda, I, lxx.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rûm.]

<sup>3</sup> [See note A in Appendix.]

<sup>4</sup> [These dirhams are mentioned by almost all these early writers. *Idrisî* says they were in use at Mansûr, and also current in the Malay Archipelago (Jaubeil, p. 24).

of which weighs a *duham* and a half of the coinage of the king. They are dated from the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne. They do not, like the Arabs, use the *Hijra* of the prophet, but date their eras from the beginning of their kings' reigns, and their kings live long, frequently reigning for fifty years. The inhabitants of the *Balhará's* country say that if their kings reign and live for a long time, it is solely in consequence of the favour shown to the Arabs. In fact, among all the kings there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the *Balhara*, and his subjects follow his example.

*Balhará* is the title borne by all the kings of this dynasty. It is similar to the *Cosroes* (of the Persians), and is not a proper name. The kingdom of the *Balhará* commences on the sea side, at the country of *Komkam* [*Konkan*], on the tongue of land which stretches to *China*. The *Balhará* has around him several kings with whom he is at war, but whom he greatly excels. Among them is the king of *Jurz*.<sup>2</sup> This king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the *Muhammadian* faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers.

By the side of this kingdom lies that of *Táfak*, which is but a

and 162) *Reinaud* suggests that the term is intended to represent "*statère*," and that the coins were *tetradrachmas* (*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 235, *Rel. des Voy.*, ii., 16, *Thomas's Prinsep*, i., 86). In the Paris edition of *Mas'údí* they are called "*Táhiriya*," and *Prof. Cowell* states that the same word is used in the Oxford MS. of *Ibn Khurdádba*. This reading gives weight to a suggestion made by *Mr. Thomas*, that these *dirhams* were coins of the *Tahirides*, who were reigning in *Khurásán*, and exercised authority over *Sistán* in the time of our author *Sulaimán*.]

<sup>1</sup> [This agrees with *Ibn Khurdádba* and *Idrísí*, but differs from *Ibn Haukal*, see *post*.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn Khurdádba* concurs in this reading, but *Mas'údí* has "*Jurz*," a near approach to "*Guzerat*." *Reinaud* suggests *Kunauj* as the seat of this monarchy (*Rel. des Voy.*, xcv.), but *Mas'údí* places the *Bauúira* or *Bodha* there at the same period. The question is discussed in note A in Appendix.]

small state The women are white, and the most beautiful in India The king lives at peace with his neighbours, because his soldiers are so few He esteems the Arabs as highly as the Balhará does ✓

These three states border on a kingdom called Ruhmí,<sup>1</sup> which is at war with that of Jurz The king is not held in very high estimation He is at war with the Balhará as he is with the king of Jurz His troops are more numerous than those of the Balhará, the king of Jurz, or the king of Táfak It is said that when he goes out to battle he is followed by about 50,000 elephants He takes the field only in winter, because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season It is stated that there are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fulling and washing cloths There is a stuff made in his country which is not to be found elsewhere, so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring It is made of cotton, and we have seen a piece of it Trade is carried on by means of kauris, which are the current money of the country They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *samara*, of which *madabs* are made. The striped *bushán* or *larladdan* is found in this country It is an animal which has a single horn in the middle of its forehead, and in this horn there is a figure like unto that of a man.<sup>2</sup>     °     °     °     °     °

After this kingdom there is another situated in the interior of the country, away from the sea It is called Káshbín The people are white, and pierce their ears They are handsome, and dwell in the wilds and mountains

Afterwards comes a sea, on the shores of which there is a kingdom called Kíranj<sup>3</sup> Its king is poor and proud He collects large

quantities of amber, and is equally well provided with elephants' teeth. They eat pepper green in this country because it is scarce

\* \* \* \*

When the king of Sarandib dies, his corpse is carried on a low carriage very near the ground, with the head so attached to the back of the vehicle that the occiput touches the ground, and the hair drags in the dust. A woman follows with a broom, who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse, and cries out, "O men, behold! This man yesterday was your king, he reigned over you and you obeyed his orders. See now to what he is brought, he has bid farewell to the world, and the angel of death has carried off his soul. Do not allow yourselves to be led astray by the pleasures of this life," and such like words. The ceremony lasts for three days, after which the body is burnt with sandal, camphor and saffron, and the ashes scattered to the winds.<sup>1</sup> All the Indians burn their dead. Sarandib is the last of the islands dependent on India. Sometimes when the corpse of a king is burnt, his wives cast themselves upon the pile and burn with it; but it is for them to choose whether they will do so or not.

In India there are persons who, in accordance with their profession, wander in the woods and mountains, and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and the fruits of the forest. \* \* \* Some of them go about naked. Others stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin. In my travels I saw a man in the position I have described, sixteen years afterwards I returned to that country and found him in the same posture. What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of the caste.

The princes of India do not recognise the supremacy of any one

<sup>1</sup> [Mas'udî and Idrîsî gave the same account. The former says he had witnessed the ceremony himself. Idrîsî refers the custom to the kings of India. Maçoudî, Tome 1, 69. Idrîsî, *post*.]

sovereign Each one is his own master Still the Balhará has the title of "king of kings"

The Chinese are men of pleasure, but the Indians condemn pleasure, and abstain from it. They do not take wine, nor do they take vinegar which is made of wine This does not arise from religious scruples, but from their disdain of it. They say "The prince who drinks wine is no true king" The Indians are surrounded by enemies, who war against them, and they say "How can a man who inebriates himself conduct the business of a kingdom?"

The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare I have never seen the people of one country submit to the authority of another, except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper<sup>1</sup> When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise

The principles of the religion of China were derived from India The Chinese say that the Indians brought buddhas into the country, and that they have been the real masters in matters of religion In both countries they believe in the metempsychosis, but there are some differences upon matters of detail.

The troops of the kings of India are numerous, but they do not receive pay The king assembles them only in case of a religious war They then come out, and maintain themselves without receiving anything from the king<sup>2</sup>

Book II—*The words of Abú Zaidul Hasan, of Siráf*—I have carefully read this book, that is to say the first book, having resolved to examine it and to add to it such observations as I have gathered in the course of my reading about voyages and the kings of the maritime countries, and their peculiarities, collecting all the information could upon those matters about which the author has not spoken

\* \* \* \*

the stories<sup>3</sup> which are current in the country (of Zábaj)

remarked that the Balhará paid his troops ]  
 1, also Maçoudi, Tome 1, §2 ]

about ancient times, there is one concerning a king of Kumár,<sup>1</sup> the country which produces the aloes called kumárí. This country is not an island, but is situated (on the continent of India) on that side which faces the country of the Arabs. There is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Kumár. Here every one walks on foot. The inhabitants abstain from licentiousness, and from all sorts of wine. Nothing indecent is to be seen in this country. Kumár is in the direction of the kingdom of the Mahārāja, of the island of Zábaj. There is about ten days' sailing between the two kingdoms, \* \* \* \* but when the wind is light the journey takes as much as twenty days. It is said that in years gone by the country of Kumár came into the hands of a young prince of very hasty temper. This prince was one day seated in his palace, situated on the banks of a river, the water of which was sweet like that of the Tigris of 'Irāk. There was the distance of a day's journey between the palace and the sea. The wazīr was near the king, and the conversation turned upon the empire of the Mahārāja, of its splendour, the number of its subjects, and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the wazīr, "I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify \* \* \* I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zábaj in a dish" \* \* \* \* These words passed from mouth to mouth, and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Mahārāja \* \* \* \* That king ordered his wazīr to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared, with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry \* \* \* \* When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet, and proceeded with his troops to Kumár. The king and his warriors all carried tooth-brushes, and every man cleaned his teeth several times a day. Each one carried his own brush on his person, and never parted from it, unless he entrusted it to his servant. The king of Kumár knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Mahārāja had landed. The Mahārāja thus took the king of Kumār unawares, and seized

<sup>1</sup> [The country about Cape Kumárí, or Comorin.]

upon his palace, for the officers had taken flight. He then made a proclamation assuring safety to every one, and seated himself on the throne of Kumār. He had the king brought forth, \* \* \* and had his head cut off. The Mahārāja then addressed the wazīr, "I know that you have borne yourself like a true minister, receive now the recompense of your conduct. I know that you have given good advice to your master if he would but have heeded it. Seek out a man fit to occupy the throne, and seat him thereon instead of this foolish fellow." The Mahārāja returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of Kumār. \* \* \* \* Afterwards the Mahārāja had the head washed and embalmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Kumār, with a letter. \* \* \* \* When the news of these events spread among the kings of India and China the Mahārāja rose greatly in their estimation. From this time the kings of Kumār, when they rise in the morning, always turn towards the country of Zábaj, and bow themselves to the ground as a mark of respect to the Mahārāja.

In the states of the Balhará, and in other provinces of India, one may see men burn themselves on a pile. This arises from the faith of the Indians in the metempsychosis, a faith which is rooted in their hearts, and about which they have not the slightest doubt.

Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne, have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \*

When a person, either woman or man, becomes old, and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him, the

<sup>1</sup> [Reinaudot and Renaud refer this to the Nairs.]



fire, or to drown him in the water, so firmly are the Indians persuaded that they shall return to (life upon) the earth. In India they burn the dead.

The island of Sarandīb contains the mountain of precious stones, the pearl fisheries, etc, \* \* \* \* Precious stones, red, green, and yellow, are obtained from the mountain which rises over the island of Sarandīb. The greater part of the stones that are found are brought up by the tide. The water carries them into caverns and grottoes, and into the places where torrents descend. There are men appointed to watch the gathering of these stones on behalf of the king. Sometimes precious stones are dug from the depths of the earth, as in mines, these stones are accompanied by earthy matter, which has to be separated from them.

The kingdom of Sarandīb has a law, and its doctors assemble from time to time like as among us the men assemble who collect the traditions of the Prophet. The Indians go to the doctors, and write from their dictation the lives of the prophets, and the precepts of the law. There is in the island a great idol of pure gold, the size of which has been exaggerated by travellers. There are also temples which must have cost considerable sums of money. There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandīb, and people of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion.<sup>1</sup> Great licentiousness prevails in this country among the women as well as the men. Sometimes a newly arrived merchant will make advances to the daughter of a king, and she, with the knowledge of her father, will go to meet him in some woody place. The more serious of the merchants of Síríf avoid sending their ships here, especially if there are young men on board.

Among the Indians there are men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brahmins. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.

<sup>1</sup> [See Jaubert's *Idrīsī*, p. 71.]

[*Then follows an account of the Baḥārjīs or Bairágīs, of the inns for travellers, and of the courtezans attached to the temples*]

The idol called Multán is situated in the environs of Mansúra, and people come on pilgrimages to it from many months distance. They bring thither the Indian aloes called *al lámrúní*, from Kámrún, the name of the country in which it grows. These aloes are of the finest quality. They are given to the ministers of the temple for use as incense. These aloes are sometimes worth as much as two hundred dinars a *mana*. The aloes are so soft that they will receive the impression of a seal. Merchants buy them of the ministers of the temple

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## II

## KITÁBU-L MASÁLIK WA-L MAMÁLIK

OF

IBN KHURDADBA.

Abú-l Kásim 'Ubaidu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah bin Khurdádba is better known as Ibn Khurdádba, a name derived from his grandfather, who was a fire worshipper, as the name shows, but who subsequently became a convert to the Muhammadan faith. Ibn Khurdádba attained high office under the Khalifs, and employed his leisure in topographical and geographical researches, the result of which was his "Book of Roads and Kingdoms." He died in 300 A H, or 912 A D<sup>1</sup>. Up to a recent date the separate individuality of Ibn Khurdádba was disputed, and it was argued by some that he was the same person as Abú Is'hák Istakhrí, and the real author of the "Oriental Geography" translated by Sir W. Ouseley. This question was set at rest by the publication of Istakhrí's work, and by the extracts from Ibn Khurdádba, which appeared in Sir H. Elliot's first volume.

The text of Ibn Khurdádba has lately been published with a translation by M. Barbier de Meynard, in the *Journal Asiatique* (1865) from a copy of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, collated with another from Constantinople. Advantage has been taken of this publication to amend the translation which originally appeared in the original specimen of this work. The texts differ occasionally, and the leaves of one or both of the MSS. must have been

<sup>1</sup> [See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda* I, p. 67, and *Journ. Asiatique*, Jan., 1866.]

misplaced. The notes marked P give the Paris readings, where the differences are such as to preclude an alteration of the Indian version. The passages in brackets have been taken from the Paris translation in addition to those published in the first edition.

## EXTRACTS

[The greatest king of India is the Balhará, or "king of kings" The other sovereigns of this country are those of Jába, Táfan, Juzr [Guzerat], Ghánah, Rahmí, and Kámrún. The king of Zábaj is called Alfikat,<sup>1</sup> ° ° ° and the king of the isle of the eastern sea Maharaja ° ° ° °]

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful, and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, but the king of Kumár<sup>2</sup> holds both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The king of Sirandíp conveys wine from 'Irák for his consumption.

The kings of Hind take great delight in maintaining elephants, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about nine cubits high, except those of 'Anáb,<sup>3</sup> which are ten and eleven cubits.

The greatest king of India is the Balhará, whose name imports "king of kings." He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence: "What is begun with resolution ends with success."

The next eminent king is he of Táfan, the third is king of Jába; the fourth is he of Juzr. the Tataríja dirhams are in use in his dominions. The fifth is king of 'Ana,<sup>4</sup> the sixth is the Rahmí,<sup>5</sup>

and between him and the other kings a communication is kept up by ships<sup>1</sup> It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand<sup>2</sup> elephants, that his country produces cotton cloths and aloe wood. The seventh is the king of Kámrún, which is contiguous to Chir. There is plenty of gold in this country.

[From the frontier of Kirmán to Mansúra, eighty parasangs, the route passes through the country of the Zats [Jats], who keep watch over it. From Záranj, capital of Sijistán, to Multán, two months' journey. Multán is called "the *fary* of the house of gold," because Muhammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Hajjáj, found for *bahárs* of gold in one house of that city, which was henceforth called "House of Gold." *Fary* (split) has here the sense of "frontier," *bahár* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* two *rills* ]<sup>3</sup>

[COUNTRIES OF SIND — Al Kaírúnya [Kírbún ?<sup>4</sup>], Makrán, Al Mar (or rather, country of the Meds), Kandahár, Kasrán,<sup>5</sup> Núkán,<sup>6</sup> Kádábil, Kinnazbún, Armábfí, Kanbálí, Sahbán, Sadúsán, Debal, Rása Al Daur [Alor], Vandán, Multán, Sindán, Mandal, Salmán, Sauras Karaj, Rúmla, Kúli, Kanauy, Barúh [Broach] ]<sup>7</sup>

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia.<sup>8</sup>

The island of Khárák lies fifty parasangs from Obolla. It is a parasang in length and breadth, and produces wheat, palm trees, and vines. The island of Láfat<sup>9</sup> is at a distance of eighty parasangs from that of Khárák, and has cultivated lands and trees. It is two para-

<sup>1</sup> [The Paris version reads *سيرة سفينة* instead of *سيرة سفينة* and translates "Les Etats de ce dernier sont distants de tous les autres d'une année de marche"]

<sup>2</sup> ["Cinquante mille" P.]

<sup>3</sup> [A *rill* is one pound Troy.]

<sup>4</sup> [A large town in Makrán. *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*.]

<sup>5</sup> [A city in Sind. *Marásid*.]

<sup>6</sup> [A town of Tús, near Nushapúr. *Marásid*, Abú-l Fidá, Sprenger's Routes, Map 4.]

<sup>7</sup> [The locality of several of these countries is discussed in a note. Appx. A.]

<sup>8</sup> [I do not find this passage in the Paris version. Quatremère proposed to read Hormuz for Karkúz. *Journal des Savants* Sep 1850.]

<sup>9</sup> [Sir H. Elliot's text has "Labin," but the Paris version reads *Lafet*. "It is the 'Labet' of Idrisi, and the 'Lafet' of Istakhri, probably the Isle of Kenn." Quatremère, in *Journal des Savants* Sep 1850. Sprenger's Routes, 79.]

sangs in length and breadth. From Lúfat to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs, it produces palm trees and wheat, and is a parasang in length and breadth. From Abrún to the island of Khín<sup>1</sup> are seven parasangs, this island is only half a parasang in extent, and is uninhabited. From Khín to the island of Kís,<sup>2</sup> seven parasangs, the island is four parasangs in extent. In it are produced wheat, palm trees, and the like, the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality. From Kís to Ibn Káwán<sup>3</sup> are eighteen parasangs. It is three parasangs in extent. The inhabitants are heretics, of the sect of the Ibázites. From Ibn Káwán to Armún,<sup>4</sup> seven parasangs. From Armún to Nármásirá<sup>5</sup> is seven days' journey, and the latter is the boundary between Persia and Sind. From Nármásirá to Debal is eight days' journey, and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs.

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos. From the Mihrán to Bakar,<sup>6</sup> which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains wheat is cultivated. The people are wanderers and robbers. From this place to the Meds are two parasangs, they also are robbers. From the Meds to Kol<sup>7</sup> are two parasangs, and from Kol to Smdán is eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the teak tree and canes. From Smdán to Mah [Malabar] is five days' journey, in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mah to Balbun,<sup>8</sup> is two days' journey, and from Balbun to the great sea,<sup>9</sup> is two days' journey. At Balbun the route divides, fol-

<sup>1</sup> [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation reads "Chin"]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had Kasir. Quatremère suggested Kish, and the Paris version gives Kís for Kish.]

<sup>3</sup> [Or "Benou Káwán." P. Sir H. Elliot's text had "Abarkáwan"]

<sup>4</sup> ["Ormuz." P.]

<sup>5</sup> [Or Narmáshíra, the "Narmásir" of Sprenger's Routes, and "Nurmanshur" of the Maps of Kirman.]

<sup>6</sup> [Illegible in the Paris copies.]

<sup>7</sup> This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood, if we except the Κωλις of Dionysius (*Perieg.* 1148), which must be looked for in another direction.

<sup>8</sup> ["Bahn," in the Paris version.]

<sup>9</sup> ["Lajjat," middle of the sea, gulf, great deep.]

lowing the shore it takes two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandīp From Bās to Sajī<sup>1</sup> and 'Askán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From 'Askán to Kúra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge From Kúra to Kilakán, Lúár and Kanja,<sup>2</sup> is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kámúl and other neighbouring places, by the fresh-water route<sup>3</sup> in fifteen days From Samundar to Urasír<sup>4</sup> is twelve parasangs, this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle, and various merchantable commodities The king of this country is very powerful From Urasír to Ainá is four days' journey, where also elephants and asses are met with [From Hubalín(?) to Sarandīp, two days]

[After this follows the description of *Pie d' Adam* In another place the author continues his account of India in these words —]

There are seven classes of Hindus, viz, 1st, Sábkufría,<sup>5</sup> among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only 2nd. Brahma, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataría, who drink not more than three cups of wine, the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters 4th, Súdariá, who are by profession husbandmen The 5th, Baisurá, are artificers and domestics The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices 7th, Lahud,<sup>6</sup> their women are fond of adorn-

<sup>1</sup> ["Sandy" P]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had "Kankan, Malwa and Kanja," but Idrisi reproduces the names as "Kil-kayan, Lulu and Kanja" There can therefore be no doubt that the Paris version now given is most correct Kúra (Kailasar in Idrisi) would seem to be near the mouths of the Coleroon. Kánchi is the old name of Konjeveram.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sprenger suggests the Godavery (Post-und Reiserouten, 80), but this cannot be if Kanja is Kánchi]

<sup>4</sup> ["Urtasír" in the Paris version, for which the editor suggests Kashmir, but Ur-desa [Orissa] is surely intended. The following name "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra [Telungana] Sprenger says "Palmiras" ?]

<sup>5</sup> [Elliot's text made the first syllable "Sám" The Paris version says "Sabakferya (B les Sabiens, Ed. Sakrya)"]

<sup>6</sup> ["Les Zenya musiciens et jongleurs" P]

ing themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill<sup>1</sup> In Hind there are forty-two religious sects,<sup>2</sup> part of them believe in a Creator and Prophet (the blessing of God be upon them !), part deny the mission of a Prophet, and part are atheists

<sup>1</sup> None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes or classes, [but they appear to have known it, see pp 6, 10, 19, and Idrisi reproduces this passage, see *post*] The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khurdādba.

	<i>Strabo</i>	<i>Diodorus</i>	<i>Arrian</i>
1st Class	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd „	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd „	Shepherds and hunters	Cowherds and shepherds	Cowherds and shepherds
4th „	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants, and boatmen
5th „	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th „	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th „	Counsellors and assessors	Connseillers and assessors	Assessors

Vid *Strab Geogr* lib xv 703-707 *Arrian Indica* 11 12 *Diodor Sic* lib ii 40, 41 and *Megasthenes Fragmenta* E. A Schwanbeck, pp 42, 121, 127 It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khurdādba The first is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Kshatriyas—the 4th the Sūdras—the 5th the Vaisya—the 6th the Chandālas—the 7th the Bāzīgars and itinerant jugglers

<sup>2</sup> This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—"Forty-two religions! and only one sauce!" The *Jāmi'u-l Hikāyāt* increases the number of religions in India to forty-eight, and the *Bahjat-u-l Tawārikh*, in the Paris Library, sets them down as 948 See Kasimurski, 214, and *Mem sur l'Inde*, 49



## III

## MURUJU-L ZAHAB

OF

## AL MAS'UDI.

ANÚ-L Hasan 'Abi, son of Husain, was a native of Baghdád, and received the surname of Al Mas'udí after an ancestor named Mas'úd, whose eldest son accompanied the prophet in his flight from Mecca to Medina<sup>1</sup>. The greater part of Mas'udí's life was spent in travelling, and his wanderings extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammadan sway, and others besides. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east, and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues to be one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language. The fruits of his travels and observations were embodied in his work called "Murju-l Zahab" (Meadows of Gold), of which Ibn Khaldún, as quoted by Sprenger, says, "Al Mas'udí in his book describes the state of the nations and countries of the east and west, as they were in his age—that is to say, in 330 (332) A. H. He gives an account of the genius and usages of the nations, a description of the countries, mountains, seas, kingdoms and dynasties, and he distinguishes the Arabian race from the barbarians. Al Mas'udí became, through this work, the prototype of all historians to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts

<sup>1</sup> [See *Préface* et *Aboulfeda* *Introd.* p. lxiv.]

which form the subject of their labours”<sup>1</sup> The date of his birth is not known, but he died in Egypt in 345 A H (956 A D)

The first part of the “Meadows of Gold” was translated into English by Dr Sprenger (London, 1841), and the complete text, with a translation into French, has since been published by MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1851) Both these works have been used in the preparation of the following extracts —

#### EXTRACTS

CHAPTER VII — *Mas'ûdî begins this chapter by stating it to be the general opinion that India was the portion of the earth in which order and wisdom prevailed in distant ages The Indians gave themselves a king, Brahma the Great, who reigned 366 years, and in whose times the book Sindhind [Siddhânta] and Arjabahad [Aryabhatta] were composed His descendants have retained to our days the name of Brahmans They are honoured by Indians as forming the most noble and illustrious caste They do not eat the flesh of any animal, and both men and women wear yellow threads suspended round their necks, like a baldrick, to distinguish them from the other castes of India He was succeeded by his eldest son Bahbud, who reigned 100 years After him came Zamân [Râma?], who reigned nearly 50 years He was succeeded by Por [Porus], who gave battle to Alexander, and was killed by that prince in single combat, after reigning 140 years After him came Dabshalm, the author of “Kahila wa Dimna,” who reigned 110 years Ballut, the next king, reigned 80 years, but according to other manuscripts, 130 years He was succeeded by Koresh [Harsha?], who abandoned the doctrines of the past, and introduced into India new religious ideas more suited to the requirements of the time, and more in consonance with the tendencies of his contemporaries \* \* \* He died after a reign of 120 years At his death discord arose among the Indians, and they broke up into diverse nations and tribes, each country having a chief of its own Thus were formed the kingdoms of Sind, Kanauj, and Kashmir The city of Mânkir, which was the great centre of India, submitted*

<sup>1</sup> [Sprenger's Mas'ûdî, Preface]

to a king called the Balhará, and the name of this prince continues to his successors who reign in that capital until the present time (332 A D)

India is a vast country, extending over sea, and land, and mountains, it borders on the country of Zábaj [Java], which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the king of the islands, whose dominions separate India and China, but are considered as part of India. India extends on the side of the mountains to Khurásán and Sind, as far as Tibet. There prevails a great difference of language and religion in these kingdoms, and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe in the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from all other black people, as the Zanjis, the Damádams, and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution, and purity of colour

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No king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age, nor does their sovereign ever appear before the public, except at certain distant intervals, and then only for the inspection of state affairs. In their opinion, the kings lose their dignity and bring contempt on their privileges if the public gazes at them frequently. Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state<sup>1</sup>    °    °    °    °    °

Royalty is limited to the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the wazírs, kázís, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed or altered.

The Hindús abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it, not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown, for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected.

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<sup>1</sup> [The Paris translation says, "Le pouvoir ne se maintient chez eux que par le despotisme et le respect de la hiérarchie politique" Sprenger's version is "The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank"]

The greatest of the kings of India in our time is the Balhará, sovereign of the city of Máńkır. Many of the kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, and they make supplications to his ambassadors, who come to visit them. The kingdom of Balhará is bordered by many other countries of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the Rái, King of Kashmír, the King of Táfan, and others. There are other kings who possess both land and sea. The capital of the Balhará is eighty Sindi parasangs from the sea, and the parasang is equal to eight milos. His troops and elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains. One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Bauura, who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings.

CHAPTER IX.—Al-Jahíz supposes that the river Mihran in Sind comes from the Nilo, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how he advanced this as a proof. He states it in his book, "*Kitabu-l'Amsár wa'ajaibu-l buldán*" ("On great cities and the wonders of the countries"). It is an excellent work, but as the author has never made a voyage and but few journeys and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauúra, and from Kashmír, Kandahár, and Táfan, and at length, running into Multan, it receives the name of the Mihran of gold, just as Múltan means boundary of gold. The king of Multan is a Kuraishite, and of the children of Usamah bin Lawi bin Ghalib. The caravans for Khurásan assemble here. The lord who rules over the kingdom of Mansúra is a Kuraishite, who is descended from Habbár bin al-Aswad. The crown of Múltan has been hereditary in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, from the beginning of Islam.

The river Mihran takes its course through the country of Mansúra, and falls near Debal into the Indian ocean. In the bays of this sea there are many crocodiles, as in the bay of Sindábúr in the kingdom.

of Baghara,<sup>1</sup> in India, the bay of Zabaj, in the dominions of the Maharaj, and the gulfs of the aghyab [aghbáb], which extend towards the island of Sarandib [Ceylon] Crocodiles live more particularly in sweet water, and, as we have said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, because the streams which form them are derived from the rains

CHAPTER XVI—The king of India is the Balhara, the king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Bauuri,<sup>2</sup> this is a title common to all kings of Kanauj There is also a city called Bruur, after its princes, which is now in the territories of Islám, and is one of the dependencies of Multan Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihran in Sind, which is considered by al-Jahiz as derived from the Nile, and by others from the Jaihún of Khurasan This Bauúra, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Balhará, the king of India The king of Kandahar, who is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains, is called Habaj, this name is common to all sovereigns of that country From his dominions comes the river Raid, one of the five rivers which form the Mihran of Sind. Kandahar is called the country of the Rahbút [Rájput?] Another river of the five is called Bahátíl, it comes also from the mountains of Sind, and runs through

<sup>1</sup> [This must be intended for "Balhará," in whose kingdom Sindábúr seems to have been situated]

<sup>2</sup> [نور] This name is so given in the Paris edition, but Sprenger reads it "Budah," and the reference immediately afterwards to a place of the same name among the dependencies of Múltán, can hardly refer to any other than the country commonly called Budha General Cunningham says this name "is said by Gildemeister to be written *Bovara* in the original, for which he proposes to read *Porara* for the well-known *Paurava* From the King of Oudh's Dictionary two different spellings are quoted, as *Pordn* and *Jordan*, while in Ferishta the name is either *Korrah*, as written by Dow, or *Kuwar*, as written by Briggs In Abu 'l Feda the name is *Noda* Now as the name, of which so many readings have just been given, was that of the king's family or tribe, I believe we may almost certainly adopt *Tovara* as the true reading according to one spelling, and *Torah* according to the other In the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Gwalior dynasty the word is invariably spelt *Tomara* Kharg Rai writes *Tomdr* [To'ar?], which is much the same as Col. Tod's *Thar*, and the *Tuvdr* of the Kumaon and Garhwál MSS Lastly, in Gladwin's *Ayín Akbari*, I find *Tenore* and *Toonor*, for which I presume the original has *Tunwar* and *Tanwar* From a comparison of all these various readings, I conclude that the family name of the Raja of Kanauj in A.D. 915, when Mas'údf visited India, was, in all probability, *Tovar* or *Tomar*" Genl Cunningham's *Archæological Report*, Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, 1864]

the country of the Rabbút, which is the country of Kandahár the fourth river comes from the country of Kabul, and its mountains on the frontier of Sind towards Bust, Ghaznín, Zara'un, ar-Rukhaj, and the country of Dáwar, which is the frontier of Sijistán The last of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmir The king of Kashmir has the name of Rai, which is a general title for all the kings Kashmir forms part of Sind

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The kingdom of the Bauūra, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles of this country This king has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men The army of the north wars against the prince of Múltán, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier The army of the south fights against the Balhará, king of Mánkir The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction

\* \* \* \* \*

Múltán is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmans, and around it there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages. In it is the idol also known by the name of Múltán The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood, and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Múltán is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumar, which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth 200 dinárs \* \* \* \* \* When the unbelievers march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the "boundary of the house of gold," which is the meaning of the name of Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above Mansúra, at a place called Dúsháb,<sup>1</sup> into one stream, which proceeds to the town of Al Rur [Alor], which lies on its western

<sup>1</sup> [Dúsháb ? referring either to the country between the Ghara and the Chináb, or to that between the Panj-nad and the Indus]

bank and belongs to Mansúra, where it receives the name of Mihrán. There it divides into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shakra,<sup>1</sup> which belongs also to one of the districts of Mansúra, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihran of Sind, about two days' journey from the town of Debal.

Múltán is seventy-five Sindian parasangs from Mansúra. Each parasang is eight miles, as stated above. The estates and villages dependent on Mansúra amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind. Lake Múltán it is on the frontier of Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Mansura has its name from Mansur bin Jamhúr, governor of the 'Ummayyides. The king of Mansúra has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked, and these elephants oppose thousands of horses.



Let us now resume our short account of the kings of Sind and India. The language of Sind is different from that of India. Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslems, India is farther from them. The inhabitants of Mankir, which is the capital of the Balhará, speak the Kiriya language, which has this name from Kira, the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saumúr, Súbara, Tána, and other towns, a language called Lariya<sup>2</sup> is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries, and thus is the Larawi sea, which has been described above. On this coast there are great rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile of Egypt, and the Mihrán of Sind, and a few others.

\*     \*     \* Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musulmans than the Balhara. In his kingdom Islám is honoured and protected. \*     \*     The money consists of dirhams, called Tahuriya,<sup>3</sup> each weighing a dirham and a half. They

<sup>1</sup> [The Sanskrit "Súgara." See *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 215.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sanskrit "Láta," the country about the mouth of the Nerbudda.]

<sup>3</sup> [Sprenger reads this *Talatawya*, as does another Paris MS. See note page 3.]

are impressed with the date of the reign. The Balhará possesses many war elephants. This country is also called Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr [Guzerat], a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army

°                    °                    °                    °                    °

Next comes the country of Táfan. The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslems, his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named

°                    °                    °                    °                    °

Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahma, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of Juzr [Guzerat], and, on one side, on those of the Balhará, with both of whom he is frequently at war. The Rahma has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Balhara, the king of Juzr and of Tufan. When he takes the field, he has no less than fifty thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated, some assert that the number of fullers and washers in his camp is from ten to fifteen thousand. °   °   °   °   ° The kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent. It is bounded by an inland state called the kingdom of Kaman. The inhabitants are fair, and have their ears pierced. They have elephants, camels, and horses. Both sexes are generally handsome.

Afterwards comes the kingdom of Firanj,<sup>1</sup> which has power both on land and sea. It is situated on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea, from whence large quantities of amber are obtained. The country produces only little pepper, but large numbers of elephants are found here. The king is brave, haughty, and proud, but to tell the truth he has more haughtiness than power, and more pride than courage.

<sup>1</sup> [Sulaiman writes this name "Kíranj." See note *ante*, p. 5.]



## IV

## KITĀBU-L AKĀLĪM,

OF

ABU ISHAK, AL ISTAKHRĪ.

SHAIKH ABŪ ISHAK received the cognomen of Istakhrī from his native city of Istakhr or Persepolis, and he is also called Al Fārsī, from the province of Fārs in which that city is situated. His travels extended through all the Muhammadan countries, from India to the Atlantic ocean, from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. The time of his journeys and the date of his work have not been precisely determined, but it is certain that he wrote about the middle of the tenth century (340 A H , 951 A D ). He was a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but these two travellers met in the valley of the Indus, and exchanged observations. A comparison of the following extracts will show how Ibn Haukal availed himself of his cotemporary's writings, and made them the basis of his own work. The text of Istakhrī's "Book of Climates" was published in lithography by Dr Moeller, at Gotha, in 1839, under the title "*Liber Climatorum*". It is a facsimile of the MS in the Gotha Library, which is the only one in Europe, but, although the lithography has evidently been executed with great care, the work is unsatisfactory, for the MS is very faulty in the spelling of proper names. A translation from the same into German was printed at Hamburg in 1845, by Dr Mordtmann, as "*Das Buch der Länder*". The portion relating

to *Sijstán* was translated into Italian by Signor Madini, and published at Milan in 1842<sup>1</sup>

## EXTRACTS

The country of *Sind* and the bordering lands are inserted in one map, which thus contains the country of *Sind* and portions of *Hind*, *Kirmán*, *Túrán* and *Budha*.

CITIES OF *SIND* — *Mansúra*, *Debal*, *Nírúr*\* [*Nún*], *Kálwí* [*Kal-larí*], *Annarí*, *Balwí* [*Ballarí*], *Maswáhí*, *Nahray*, *Bányá*, *Manhá-narí* [*Manjabarí*] *Sadúsín*, and *Al Rúz* [*Alor*]

CITIES OF *HIND* — *Amhal*,<sup>2</sup> *Kambíya*, *Subára*, *Sindán*, *Sannúr*, *Multán*, *Jandrud*, and *Basmand*

From *Kambíya* to *Sannúr* is the land of the *Balhará*, and in it there are several Indian kings. It is a land of infidels, but there are *Musalmán*s in its cities, and none but *Musalmán*s rule over them on the part of the *Balhará*. There are *Jama'* masjids in them. The city in which the *Balhará* dwells is *Mánkir*, which has an extensive territory.

*Mansúra* is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the *Mihrán*. The inhabitants are *Musalmán*s. The date tree and the sugar cane grow here. The land of *Mansúra* also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called *Laimun*, and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called *Ambay* (mango), which is like the peach. The price of them is low, and they are plentiful. The dress of the people is like that of the people of *'Irak*, but the dress of their kings resembles that of the kings of *India* in respect of the hair<sup>4</sup> and the tunic.

*Multán* is a city about half the size of *Mansura*. There is an idol there held in great veneration by the *Hindus*, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring to it vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on

<sup>1</sup> [See *Reinaud's Aboulfeda*, Introd. p. lxxi, and the prefaces to *Moeller* and *Mordtmann's* works.]

<sup>2</sup> [السور]

<sup>3</sup> ["*Fámhal*" and "*Kámhal*" below.]

<sup>4</sup> [الشعر], for this we have سراويل (trowsers) in *Ibn Haukal*. See *post*, page 34.

those who lead there a life of devotion. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multán, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multán there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this, but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán. Mansúra is more fertile. At half a parasang from Multán there is a large cantonment,<sup>1</sup> which is the abode of the chief, who never enters Multán except on Fridays, when he goes on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. The governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Mansúra, but reads the khutba in the name of the khalifa.

Samand<sup>2</sup> is a small city situated like Multán, on the east of the river Míhrán, between each of these places and the river the distance is two parasangs. The water is obtained from wells.

The city of Al Rúr approaches Multán in size. It has two walls, is situated near the Míhrán, and is on the borders of Mansura.

Nírúr<sup>3</sup> is half way between Debal and Mansúra.

From Samúr to Fámhal, in Hind, and from Fámhal to Makrán

<sup>1</sup> [معسكر camp]

<sup>2</sup> ["Basmand" above and below]

<sup>3</sup> [نرور See note A in Appx]

and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multán, all belong to Sind. Budha is there a desert

The people of Multán wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindí, as in Mansúra.

Makrán is a large territory, for the most part desert and barren. The largest city in Makrán is Kannazbún<sup>1</sup>

Kandábil is a great city. The palm tree does not grow there. It is in the desert, and within the confines of Budha. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated. Vines grow there, and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful. Abíl is the name of the man who subdued this town, which is named after him.

DISTANCES.—From Tíz<sup>2</sup> to Tír [Kíz] about five days. From Kíz<sup>3</sup> to Kannazbún two days. Going from Kannazbún to Tíz, in Makrán, the road passes by Kíz. From Kannazbún to Darak three days. From Rásak to Fahalfahúh<sup>4</sup> three days. From thence to Asghafa<sup>5</sup> two days. From thence to Band one day. From Band to Bah<sup>6</sup> one day. From thence to Kasrkand<sup>7</sup> one day. From Kíz to Armábil<sup>8</sup> six days. From Armábil to Kambah<sup>9</sup> two days. From thence to Debal four days. From Mansúra to Debal six days. From Mansúra to Multán twelve days. From Mansúra to Túrán fifteen days. From Mansúra to the nearest frontier of Budha five days. From Budha to Tíz about fifteen days. The length of Makrán from Tíz to Kasdán is about fifteen days. From Multán to the nearest border of the tongue (of land) known as Bīyalas<sup>10</sup> about ten days. Here the Mihrán must be crossed to get into the land of Budha.

<sup>1</sup> [فروں] Mordtmann reads "Firuun," but see note A in Appx.]

<sup>2</sup> [The port of that name.]

<sup>3</sup> ["Kedge" of the maps.]

<sup>4</sup> [The other authorities agree in reading this Fahalfahara except the Marásidu-l-Itt, which makes it "Fahafahrat," and calls it "a well known town in Makrán." See Idrísí.]

<sup>5</sup> [Ibn Haukal and Idrísí have "Asfaka." The "Asfaka" of the maps north of Goh, in Makrán.]

<sup>6</sup> [The modern Goh.]

<sup>7</sup> [This is still a place of some note.]

<sup>8</sup> [See note A in Appx.]

<sup>9</sup> [This must have been on the coast of Las. See Idrísí.]

<sup>10</sup> [بالس]

12 Mansúra, and the adjacent countries,<sup>1</sup> which are Sind, India, and part of the Muhammadan territory, 13 Ázarbaiján, 14 the district of the Jibál, 15 Dailam 16 the sea of the Khazar (i.e. the Caspian), 17 the steppes between Fárs and Khurásán, 18 Siyistán and the adjacent countries, 19 Khurásán, 20 Máwárú-n nahr." Of every one of the above countries there seems to have been originally a map, but two have been lost (viz, Nos 6 and 10), and some have been transposed (as well as several leaves of the text) by the bookbinder. It was copied in A. H. 589, as it is stated in the postscript, from a very correct copy, and with great care. The copyist has added in a few instances marginal notes, which prove that he took an interest in what he wrote, and that he was acquainted with the subject. On comparing this work with the "Book of Roads and Kingdoms" of Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal's work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value.<sup>2</sup> The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucknow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy. [The map is from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, and is very similar to that of Istakhrí, as published by Moeller.]

[The real name of Ibn Haukal was Muhammad Abú-l Kásim, and he was a native of Baghdád. When he was a child the power of the Khalifs had greatly declined, and Baghdád itself had fallen into the hands of the Turks. On attaining manhood he found himself despoiled of his inheritance, so he resolved to gratify a natural taste, and to seek to mend his fortunes by travelling and trading in foreign countries. He left Baghdád in 331

<sup>1</sup> Here a space of about six inches square is left blank, and in the margin are the words "This space is for the map of the world, but it is not large enough, therefore the copyist has deviated from the original from which he transcribed, and it stands in the preceding page."

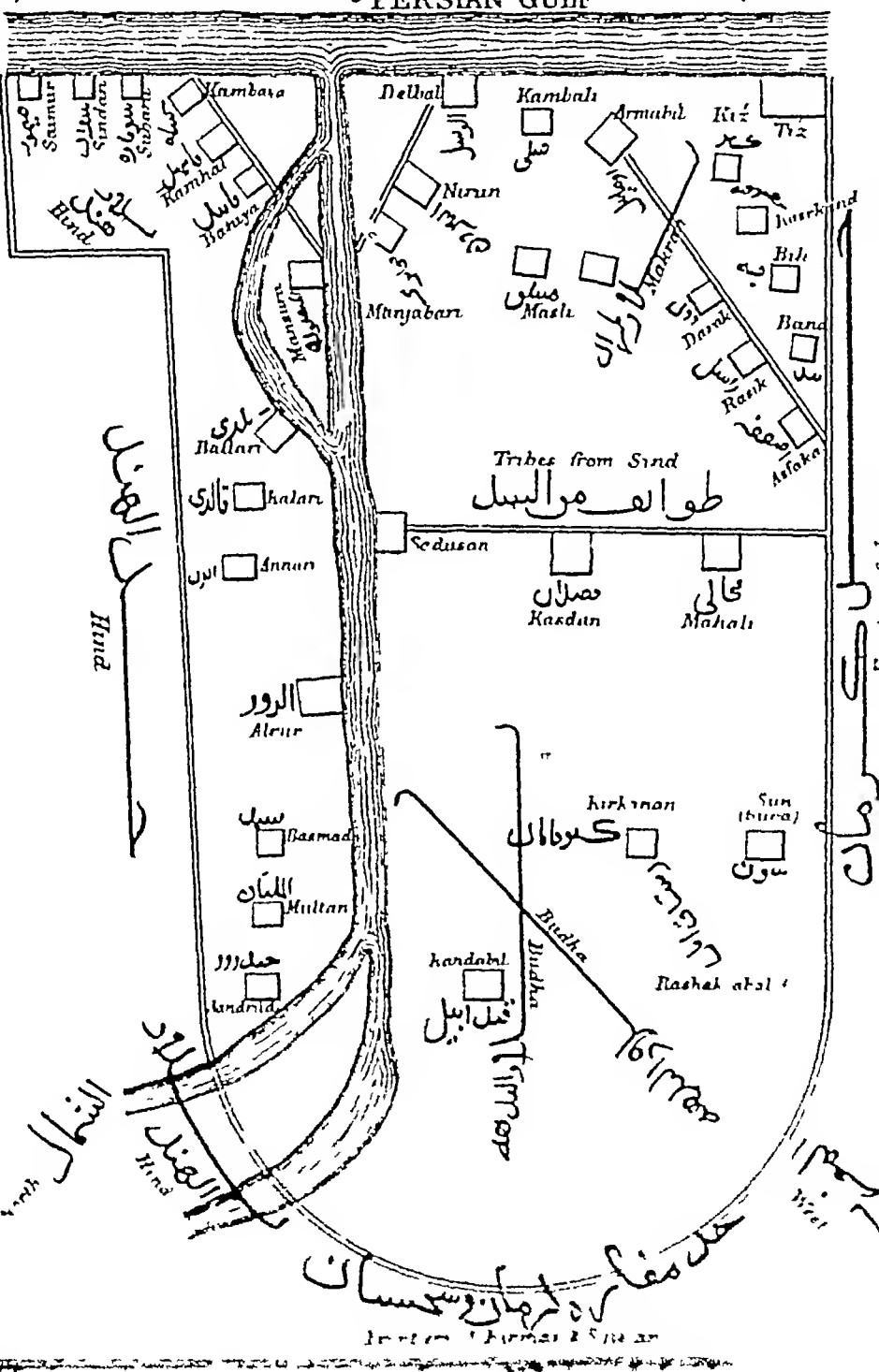
<sup>2</sup> [Uri Bodl. Codd. MSS, Cat., p. 209.]

MAP OF SIND

پرس فارس  
PERSIAN GULF

PERSIAN GULF

South





A H (943 A D), and after passing through the various lands under Musulmán rule, he returned to that city in 358 A H (968 A D). The following year he was in Africa, and he seems to have finished his work in 366 A H. (976 A D) His book received the same title as that of Ibn Khúrdádba, or "Book of Roads and Kingdoms," and he says that his predecessor's work was his constant companion<sup>1</sup> His obligations to Istakhrí have been already mentioned. M Uyenbioek translated part of the work in his "*Iracæ persicæ descriptio*," and Gildemeister has given the "*Descriptio Sindicæ*" in his "*Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis*," etc Part of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* relating to Khurásán has been translated by Col Anderson, and was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXII ]

## EXTRACTS

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the sea of Fars to the country of Kanauj is three months' journey

o                      o                      o                      o

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túran and Budha<sup>2</sup> On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fars, and on the west, Kirman and the desert of Sijistan, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Makran and Kufs,<sup>3</sup> beyond which is the sea of Fars Thus sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, for it extends from Samúr on the east to Tiz,<sup>4</sup> of Makran, it then bends round the desert, and encloses Kirman and Fars

The chief cities of this tract are the following In Makrán,—

<sup>1</sup> [Reinaud's *Aboulfèda*, Introd., p. lxxxiii.]

<sup>2</sup> Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha* See note A in the Appx

<sup>3</sup> [Mountains in Kirmán, near the coast.]

<sup>4</sup> [This name is not to be found in Sir H Elliot's text, but it was given in the translation, and it is also in Ibn Haukal, so that it is right without doubt.]



Tiz,<sup>1</sup> Kabar [Kız], Kabryún [Kannazbún], Darak, Rasak the city of schismatics, Bih, Nand [Band], Kasrkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Mush, Yush [Kambah], Armail [Armabíl] In Túrán,—Mahali Kanikanún, Sura and Kasdár In Budha,—Kandubil In Sind,—Mansura, which, in the Sind language, is called Bamiwan,<sup>2</sup> Debal, Nirun,<sup>3</sup> Fálid [Kallari], Abri [Annari], Balzi [Ballari], Maswahi, Haruj, Bania, Manjabari, Sadúsan, Aldúr In Hind,—Famhal, Kambaya, Súrbarah, Sindán, Samúr, Multan, Hadrawur [Jadrawar, or Jandrúd], and Basmat. These are the cities of these countries which are known to me <sup>4</sup> From Kambáya to Samúr is the land of the Balhara, and in it there are several Indian kings <sup>5</sup> It is a land of infidels, but there are Musulmans in its cities, and none but Musulmans rule over them on the part of the Balharú There are many mosques in these places, where Muhammadans assemble to pray The city in which the Balhara resides is Mankír, which has an extensive territory <sup>6</sup>

Mansúra is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihran. It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmans The king of the country is one of the tribe of

Kuraish, and is said to be a descendant of Hubád, the son of Aswad. He and his ancestors ruled over this country, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalifa. The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here, but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor ripe date (tamr), nor walnut in it. The sugar cane grows here. The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimún, and is exceedingly acid. The place also yields a fruit called Ambay (mangoe), resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap.<sup>1</sup> Prices are low and there is an abundance of food.

The current coin of the country is stamped at Kandahár, one of the pieces is equivalent to five dirhams. The 'Tatarí coin also is current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third.<sup>2</sup> They likewise use dinárs. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of 'Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the trousers<sup>3</sup> and tunio that worn by the kings of Hind.

Multan is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary<sup>4</sup> of the house of gold." There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindús, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion. Multán derives its name from this idol. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multan, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the centre of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those

<sup>1</sup> [Here there must have been a line omitted from the text as printed by Sir H Elliot.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Drachmam cum octava parte valentes" Gildemeister.]

<sup>3</sup> [السراويل والقراطين] Gildemeister has "in crinibus et tunicis." See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Ide*, 237.]

<sup>4</sup> The Ashkúlu-l Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading, but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67), that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading. [Quatreméro concurs in reading "farj." *Jour. des Sav.* See also Ibn Khurdádba and the account given in the Chach-náma.]

devoted to its service dwell around the cupola In Multán there are no men, either of Hind or of Sind, who worship idols, except those who worship this idol and in this temple The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture,<sup>1</sup> on a throne made of brick and mortar Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible Some believe that the body of the idol is made of wood, some deny this, but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide this point The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers all closed,<sup>2</sup> so that only four can be counted.<sup>3</sup> The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amir of Multán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they<sup>4</sup> bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it Upon which the assailants retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán There is a strong fort in Multán Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous The reason why Multán is designated "the boundary of the house of gold" is, that the Muhammadans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it About half a parasang from Multán are several edifices called Chandráwár,<sup>5</sup> the cantonment of the chief, who never enters Multán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawi, who first occupied the place He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansura He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalifa.

<sup>1</sup> [مترج]

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers" Zakariyá Kazwini, following Ishtakhrí, says "closed hands" The Ashkálu-l Bilád concurs with Ishtakhrí, as quoted by M Kosegarten *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p 27 Idrisi speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading See *post*

<sup>3</sup> [Sir H Elliot's printed text terminates here, and so the remainder of the translation has not been revised]

<sup>4</sup> [According to Kazwini it is the Musulmáns who do this]

<sup>5</sup> This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l Bilád See Note A in Appx

Basmad is a small city, situated like Multán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Mihran. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country [city] of Alrúr<sup>1</sup> is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Debal is to the west<sup>2</sup> of the Mihrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Debal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords<sup>3</sup>. The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nirun is between Debal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábari is to the west of the Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Debal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábari.

Maswahi, Harj, and Sadúsán,<sup>4</sup> are also situated to the west of the Mihrán<sup>5</sup>.

On the road between Mansura and Multán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibrí and Labí [Annari and Kállari]<sup>6</sup>.

Maidí [Ballarí] is also near the Mihrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra.

Bilha [Bánna] is a small city, the residence of 'Umar, the son of 'Abdu-l 'Aziz Habbári, of the tribe of Kuraish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansura.

<sup>1</sup> [Alor. See Note A. in Appx.]

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Debal to the west.

<sup>3</sup> M. Gildemeister translates this "locus sterilis est," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

<sup>4</sup> [See Note A. in Appx.]

<sup>5</sup> [Ibn Haukal adds, "These cities are about equal to each other."]

<sup>6</sup> [Abú-l Fidá refers to this passago (p. 347 Text), in speaking of Annari Kállari.]

The city of Fámhal<sup>1</sup> is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimur, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The countries between Fámhal and Makrán, and Budna, and beyond it as far as the borders of Multán, are all dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Budha<sup>2</sup> and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Multán, and Mansúra, to the west of the Míhrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khurásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

The city where the Buddhites carry on their trade is Kandábil, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mandas dwell on the banks of the Míhrán, from the boundary of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between Makrán and Fámhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

There are Jám'a Masjids at Fámhal, Sindán, Saimur, and Kam-báya, all which are strong and great cities and the Muhammadan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

The villages of Dahuk<sup>3</sup> and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labi<sup>4</sup> and Armábil. Kalwán is a dependency of Makrán, and Dahuk that of Mansúra. In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant.

Turán<sup>5</sup> is a town

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages. The governor is Muin bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name

<sup>1</sup> [See Note A. in Appx.]

<sup>2</sup> The passage is difficult. Gildmeister says, "Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitas, et gens quæ Mund vocatur. Bodha nomen est varium tribuum," etc (p. 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Multán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mandas." [See Note A. in Appx.]

<sup>3</sup> [Ibn Haukal has "Rahuk," and Idrisi "Ráhún and Kalwán"]  
<sup>4</sup> ["Kiz" in Ibn Haukal and Idrisi]

<sup>5</sup> The printed text says, "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel."

of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabí-Kánan<sup>1</sup> This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance, but there are no date trees in this district

[Here ends the extract from the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*, that which follows is from *Ibn Haukal*, as translated into Latin by M. Gildemeister]

There is a desert between Báma, Kámuhul, and Kambáya From Kambáya to Samúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation The Moslems and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat The men of Multán dress in the same way The language of Mansúra, Multán, and those parts is Arabic and Sindian In Makrán they use Persian and Makránic All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks of cotton, like the men of 'Irák and Persia

o       o       o       o       o       o       o

From Mansúra to Debal is six days' journey, from Mansúra to Multán, twelve, from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen, from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Multán, twenty, from Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Budha, fifteen The whole length of the jurisdiction of Makrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen From Multán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Míhrán, as far as the city of Sadústán From Kandábil to Mansúra is about eight days' journey, from Kandábil to Multán, by the desert, ten, from Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight, from Kámuhul to Kambáya, four Kambáya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about ten<sup>2</sup> days' journey, from Sindán to Samúr about five, from Samúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen, from Multán to Basmad, two, from Basmad to Alrúz [Alor], three, from Alrúz to Ayara [Annari],

<sup>1</sup> ["Kízkánán," Gildemeister See Note A in Appx]

<sup>2</sup> [So according to Gildemeister, but "five" seems to be the right number See Istakhrí and Idrísí]

four, from Ayara [Annarí] to Valara [Ballarí], two, from Valara to Mansúra, one, from Debal to Kannazbúr, fourteen from Debal to Manhátara [Manjábari] two, and that is on the road from Debal to Kaunazbúr, from Vallara [Ballarí] to Ayara [Annarí], four parasangs, Kámuhul from Mansura is two days' journey,<sup>1</sup> and Báma intervenes at one stage distance. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jihún flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Multán. It then flows by Basmad, Alruz, and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Debal. Its water is very sweet, and there are said to be crocodiles in it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence the seed is sown, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] is about three days' distant from Multán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Multán.

Jandaruz [Jand-rúd] is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Jandarúz.<sup>2</sup> It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] towards the country of Mansúra.

Makrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansura and Makrán the waters from the Mihrán form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zat. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. \* \* \* \* Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

<sup>1</sup> He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey, and that is, doubtless, the correct distance, otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Kambáya, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l Fidá, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

<sup>2</sup> [See Note in Appx.]

## VI

SURU-L BULDÁN

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THE "Oriental Geography" of Sir W Ouseley is a translation of a Persian work called *Sûru-l Buldan*, "Pictures of Countries," compiled from the works of Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. It contains little or nothing that is not to be found in these writers. Ouseley's MS, moreover, was very faulty. The work is of small value now that its original sources are available, and it seems quite unnecessary to quote it here. The authorship of this work was at one time a subject of great dispute, but a passing allusion to the discussion is all that is needed now that the question is set at rest.



## VII

## JÁMI'U-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

## RASHÍDU-D DÍN

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THE extract which follows is taken from the *Jám'u t Tawárikh* of *Rashídu-d Dín*, which was completed in A H 710, or A D 1310. This date, but for another more cogent reason, would require the insertion of the extract in a later part of the book, or the entire omission of it, as beyond the scope of the present work. But though appearing in the history of *Rashídu-d Dín*, the passage is not his own, it is really and confessedly the work of the celebrated *Abú Ríhán al Birúní*, who wrote about four centuries earlier, his life having extended from A H 360 to 430, or A D 970 to 1039. This chapter of *Al Birúní's* work has been translated and published by M. Renaud, in his "Fragments," and a comparison of the two will show how very little has been added by *Rashídu-d Dín*. For all practical purposes it may be considered as presenting a picture of the Muslim knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century.

Copies of the work of *Al Birúní* are exceedingly rare, for two only are known to be extant, and the portions published were translated from the single copy in the Imperial Library in Paris. The reproductions by *Rashídu-d Dín* are therefore of high value, and the importance of the following extract for a correct appreciation of the progress of the Muhammadan knowledge of India cannot be over-rated.

Extended notices of these two authors—Abú Rihán and Rashidu-d Dín—with other extracts from their works, appeared in the volume published by Sir H Elliot, and will again appear in the second volume of this work. It is here only necessary to state that the *Jámi'u-l Tawárikh* was written in Persian, and is a rare work. There is a copy in the Library of the East India Office and another in the British Museum. Two distinct portions of the work have been found in India, and of these there are copies among Sir H Elliot's MSS<sup>1</sup>. There is also in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society an incomplete Arabic translation.

The following translation differs considerably from that published in Sir H Elliot's first edition, but every care has been taken to make it as accurate as possible. The MS of the East India Library has been mainly relied upon, this will be referred to as MS *A*. Occasional reference for doubtful passages and proper names has been made to the British Museum MS, referred to as MS *B*. The Arabic version will be called MS *C*; and Sir H Elliot's new copy of the Lucknow MS *D*. MSS *A* and *B* are not good copies. The scribes were careless and ignorant, and the texts abound with errors, particularly in the spelling of the names of persons and places. Nor are the errors confined to obscure and doubtful names. MS *A* almost always represents the name of the Ganges by *كل*, with no dot to the second letter. The Arabic version *C* is well and boldly written. The dots are more frequently, though by no means invariably, supplied, and the proper names are generally more distinct. It differs occasionally from the Persian MSS, and has often been of service. Still it is not reliable authority for the proper names, as those occasionally present some curious proofs of the work having been translated from the Persian. Prepositions like *ta* and *ba*, and the Persian words of number, as *sih* (3) and *nuh* (9), have sometimes been taken as part of the names, and incorporated with them. Some instances will be pointed out in the Notes.

<sup>1</sup> [The Calcutta copy has been mislaid, and has not been recovered.]

## EXTRACTS

SECTION III — *On the Hills and Rivers of Hindustán and Súdán* (sic),  
*which according to Abú Rihán extend twelve thousand parasangs*

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into nine unequal<sup>1</sup> parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Bâtankal.<sup>2</sup> Its shape resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water.<sup>3</sup> The mountains and plains in these nine parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other, like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from the east to the midst of the west, i. e., from the beginning of China through Tibet, and the country of the Turks, to Kábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Ghúr, Khurásán, Gilán, Ázarbáiyán, Armenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. In their course they spread out widely from the deserts and inhabited places of that part. Rivers flow at their base. One which comes from the south from India is very large and

<sup>1</sup> [The different MSS are strangely discordant as to the division of India. The original translation from the Indian MS made the division to be "three equal parts," and "three parts" are again mentioned at the beginning of the next section. The E I Library copy, in the first line of this section, says "three equal parts," but in the following line it refers "to these nine parts," at the beginning of the next section it again says "three parts." The British Museum copy says, in this place, "nine equal parts," and in the next section it also says "nine parts." The Arabic version is also consistent in always giving "nine" as the number, but it differs in declaring them to be "unequal." Nine being the number most frequently used, and *unequal* being more probable than *equal*, I have used those words in the translation. Al Birúni makes no mention of the division in the chapter translated by Renaud, so that Rashidu-d Din probably derived his knowledge of it from the translation of the book "Bâtankal," to which he refers. The inconsistencies have most probably arisen from a confusion of the original Sanskrit authorities. Menu makes a threefold division of Upper India, "Brahmarsha, Brahmavartta and Mndhyadesa," and this last portion is accurately defined by Al Birúni and Rashidu-d Din. The ninefold division is that of the "nava-dwípas," or nine portions, given in the Vishnu Purána, p. 175.]

<sup>2</sup> [Bátajal or Bâtanjál in the Arabic version. See a note upon this in the notice of Abú Rihán, Vol. II.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Persian versions have the following sentence here *ارمیان احداد* the application of which is not clear, but as a blank space is left in one MS immediately after these words, they probably refer to the difficulty of representing the appearance in a picture.]

broad.<sup>1</sup> But in other places they have then sources to the north in the lofty mountains and in the deserts. Hind is surrounded on the east by Chin and Máchín,<sup>2</sup> on the west by Sind and Kábul, and on the south by the sea.<sup>3</sup> On the north lie Kashmir, the country of the Turks, and the mountain of Meru, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole.\* The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months.<sup>4</sup>

Opposite to this mountain stands another, not round in shape, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Hima mountains lie on the north of Kanauj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Kashmir in its centre, and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,<sup>5</sup> and Sakáhiba,<sup>6</sup> to the sea of Jurján and Khwárasm. The rivers of the entire country of Hind, which flow from the northern mountains, amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to

<sup>1</sup> [The following passage from the *Aráush-i Mahfil* may perhaps throw some light upon this — "Between Bhakar and Sowí there is a jungle over which the Simoom blows for three months in the hot season. When the river Indus, at intervals of some years, flows from the south to the north, the villages here are laid waste." See also *ante*, p. 24.]

<sup>2</sup> [This is generally written "Máchín" in MS. C.]

<sup>3</sup> In the original Arabic, Al Bīrūnī says "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the *Jāmi'u-t Tawárikh*. "If you examine the country of Hind, and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers." Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. A late writer on this subject observes "Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, No. cxxxviii p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Strabo ii. 1-19. Plin. N. H. vi. 22, 6, and Solinus 52, 13.

<sup>5</sup> [The country of the Khazars or Khozars, a Turkish race, on the north of the Caspian sea, about the mouths of the *Iti* or Volga. The Caspian is called Bahru-l Khazar or Bahru-l Jurján.]

<sup>6</sup> [Slavonia.]

the same number These run far to the east and the south till they fall into the ocean Those, however, which rise in the south do not discharge themselves into the sea

The northern mountains have connection with Mount Meru, which lies south of them Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet and India, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountains of Hindústán Its ascent is eighty parasangs From its summit India looks black through the mists beneath, and the mountains and rugged declivities below look like hillocks Tibet and China appear red The descent from its summit to Tibet is one parasang This mountain is so high that Firdausi probably meant the following verse to apply to it — "It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you may see its belly from the fish (on which the earth rests), its back from the moon"

Some other mountains are called Harmakút,<sup>1</sup> in which the Ganges has its source These are impassable from the side of the cold regions, and beyond them lies Máchin To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin Besides these mountains there are others called Kalárchal<sup>2</sup> They resemble crystal domes, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damáwand They can be seen from Tákas and Lahawar<sup>3</sup> Then there are the mountains of Billúr, in the direction of Turkistán, which are denominated Shamílán<sup>4</sup> In two days' journey you arrive at Turkistán, where the Bhutáwariyas<sup>5</sup> dwell Their king is called Bhut Sháh, and their countries (bilád) are Gilgit, Asúra, Salsás,<sup>6</sup> etc ,

<sup>1</sup> [Homakuta, the range immediately to the north of the Himálayas]

<sup>2</sup> [The mountains of Sirmor See a passage in page 65 Reinand reads the name "Kelardjok," which agrees with the MS *D* Ibn Batúta calls them "Karárchal" (vol iii 325) The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *dchal*, mountain]

<sup>3</sup> [Tákashír (Taxila?) and Lúháwar (Lahore) in MS *C*]

<sup>4</sup> [The Billúr-tágh, or "crystal mountains," running north through Badakhshán Shamílán is probably the Aralno Shamíl, "north," with a plural termination— "Mountains of the North"]

<sup>5</sup> [MS *A* says "Maháromún"]

<sup>6</sup> The upper part of the Jhailam is called Bhat, and Kunáwar appears to be called "Budh mulk" (Loud Geog J, iv 64) Gilgit retains its name to the present day, Asura is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsals is, perhaps, Ohelás on the Indus M Reinand reads Salsas (Vigne's Kashmír, i 548, 382) [MS *C* has "Shalsás" See *Mem sur l'Inde*, 279]

and their language<sup>1</sup> is Turki. The inhabitants of Kashmir suffer greatly from their onerous impositions and depredations. The mountains here mentioned are those described in the translation of Abū Rihān, and they are as manifest as a tortoise displaying (itself) from the midst of the waters.

<sup>2</sup> There are rivers and large streams which have their sources in and issue from the mountains surrounding the kingdom of Kāpish<sup>3</sup> or Kābul. One, called the Gharwarand,<sup>4</sup> mixes with the stream from the mountain of Ghūrak, and passes through the country of Barwān<sup>5</sup>. The waters of the Sharúhat and the Shāla pass by Lamankān,<sup>6</sup> which is Lamghān, and uniting near the fort of Dirūna,<sup>7</sup> fall into the Núrokhrāt. The aggregate of these waters forms a large river opposite the city of Parshāwar,<sup>8</sup> which is called "al ma'bar," or "the ferry." This town is situated on the eastern side of these rivers.<sup>9</sup> All these rivers fall into the Sind near to the fort of

<sup>1</sup> [The MS C adds, "of the majority"]

<sup>2</sup> [Al Birūnī's original text of the following passage is given by M. Reinaud, with a translation, in the *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 276.]

<sup>3</sup> [See St. Martin, quoted in *Journ. R. A. S.*, xvi. 186.]

<sup>4</sup> [So in MS A. C has عررود. Reinaud has "Ghorband," and that river must be the one intended.]

<sup>5</sup> [بروان in A. بروان in B. بروان in C. Reinaud has "Bervānah." The modern Parwān or Ferwān. See *Journ. R. A. S.*, ix. 207, and xvii. 186.]

<sup>6</sup> [لسکان in A. لمکا in C. "Lampaga" in Reinaud. Lamghān "in the hills of Ghazni" (Abū-l fidā). The "Lughman" of the Maps—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, 353.]

<sup>7</sup> [Reinaud (p. 114) suggests "Udyanapur" or "Adinapur," near Jelālābād, mentioned by Fa-hian, and in the *Ayīn Akbarī*. See his note, also Foo-kone-ki, p. 46, Masson, i. 181, 182, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, June, 1848, p. 482.]

<sup>8</sup> As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Parshāwar. In the *Zubdat-n-Tawārīkh* it is called "Fashūr." The Chinese divide the first syllable, and make Poo-loo shā, the capital of the kingdom of Pu shia. See the *Foc-hou-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-tuan lun*, by M. Rémusat.—*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.* Tom I. p. 190. *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 100.

<sup>9</sup> [The following is the text of this passage—

MS A says,  [B. مہارہ] است بر شرط شرقی

C says,  [وہی قریہ مہارہ علی الطرف الشرقی من ہندہ الانہار]

Bitúrashit,<sup>1</sup> at the city of Kandahár,<sup>2</sup> which is Waihind<sup>3</sup> After that, there comes from the west the river of Tibet, called the Jharlam It and the waters of the Chandrá all combine about fifty miles above Jharáwar,<sup>4</sup> and the stream flows to the west of Multán. The Biah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Rávi) Then the river Kaj falls into it after separating from the river Kúj, which flows from the hills of Bhátal<sup>5</sup> They all combine with the Satlader (Sutlej) below Multán, at a place called Panjnád, or "the junction of the five rivers" They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and leaving its spoils upon the trees like nests of birds This stream, after passing Audar,<sup>6</sup> in the middle of Sind bears the name of Míhrán, and flows

<sup>1</sup> Bfrání says "Bitúr below Kandahar"

<sup>2</sup> The proper name is Gandhárá, almost always converted by Musulmán writers into Kandahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Kandahár of the west The Gandhárás on the Indus are well known to the Sanskrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Raja Tarangini*, Tom II. pp 316—321 It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Gangarías of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country The name given to them by Dionysius, in his *Periegesis*, resembles this modern name more than the Sanskrit one He says, *Διαυρόσου θερπρόντες Γαργαρίσαι valousiv* He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M Lassen consider that we should read *Γανδαρίσαι* Herodotus calls them *Γανδαριοί* The *Γορύανδρις* of Nonnus, which M Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhárás, is probably to be looked for else where See also Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Rómen*, Vol V pp 5, 30, 107 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XV Lassen, *De Pentap Ind* p 16—17 Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol IV Pt. I p 453 Ersch and Gruber's *Encyc Art. Indien*, p 2 *Mém sur l'Inde*, 107 Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, See X. para 4

<sup>3</sup> [The modern Ohind on the right bank of the Indus fourteen miles above Attok Baihaki writes it *وي هند*, and the Sikhs call it Hánd Abu-l Fida quotes Ibn Sa'id to the effect that it was one of the cities founded by Alexander]

<sup>4</sup> [This must be the fort on the river in the vicinity of Multán, in which the governor dwelt The correct name would seem to be Jand-rád See Note A. in Appx]

<sup>5</sup> There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original. [I have modified the translation, but the passage is still doubtful The Arabic differs in some points It makes no mention of the Chandrá, but as it speaks of the waters being "collected from many places," it would seem that the name *Chandrá* has been mistaken for the word *chand*, "several" It is ambiguous about the Kaj, but it appears to say as follows "Then the river Kaj (*sic*) separates from it distinctly from the river Kút (*sic*), which is collected from the waters of the mountains of Bhátal, and it joins it where it joins the Satladar (Sutlej) as it descends from Multán" See *ante*, p 22]

<sup>6</sup> *Alor* is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms [The reading in the text is from MS A B has *اور* and C *اور* See Note A in Appx]

with a slower current, and widens, forming several islands, till it reaches Mansúra, which city is situated in the midst of the waters of this river. At this place the river divides into two streams, one empties itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of the city of Lúhá-ráni,<sup>1</sup> and the other branches off to the east to the borders of Kach, and is known by the name of Sind Ságar, *i.e.*, Sea of Sind. In the same way as at this place they call the collected rivers Pany-nad, "five rivers," so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, when they unite near Turmuz and form the river of Balkh,<sup>2</sup> are called "the seven rivers," and the fire-worshippers (*mayús*) of Soghd make no distinction, but call them all the "Seven rivers."

The river Sarsut [Sarsuti] falls into the sea to the east of Somnát.


The Jumna falls into the Gangá below Kanauj, which city is situated on the west of the river. After uniting, they fall into the sea near Gangá Sayar [Ságar]. There is a river which lies between the Sarsut and Ganges. It comes from the city of Turmuz<sup>3</sup> and the eastern hills, it has a south-westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,<sup>4</sup> about sixty yojanas to the east of Somnát. Afterwards the waters of the Gangá,<sup>5</sup> the Rahab, the Kúbi, and the Sarjú unite<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell (*Memoir*, p. 286), Laharah of M. Kosegarten (*De Mahommede, Comment Acad.*), and the Láhari of Ibn Batuta, who remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put in. At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones, and, indeed, stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable." See Ibn Batuta Lee, p. 102 [French version, in 112, *Mem sur l'Inde*, 278]. <sup>2</sup> [The Jihán or Oxus]

<sup>3</sup> [This is distinct both in the Persian and Arabic, saving only that in the former the last letter lacks the point.]

<sup>4</sup> This is spelt by various authors Baráj, Barás, Bahráj, Barúh and Bahrúch. It is the Broach of the present day, the βαρύραζα ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy and Arrian, and the Bhrigukachchha and Bharukachchha of the Sanskrit authorities. See Ptol *Geog. Lib.* VII Cap. 1, Tab. 10. Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. und Rom.* Vol. V p. 127. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. IV Pt. II p. 626. Bohn, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I p. 18. Lassen, *Alterthums-kunde*, Vol. I p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> [The MS. A does not mention the Ganges.]

<sup>6</sup> M. Reinand (p. 100) gives the first as Rahab. A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Muhammadan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rámangá. The union of the Sarjú with the Gomati, which M. P. Kubin, is a fable. There is no confluence of three rivers at Bárf, 



near the city of Bári The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, and, descending to the earth, is divided into seven streams, the centre one being denominated the Gangá The three eastern streams are the Balan, the Ládafi, and Nalin<sup>1</sup> The three western streams are the Sit, the Jakash, and Sind<sup>2</sup> When the Sit leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries<sup>3</sup> of Silk, Karsib, Hir, Barbai, Hira, Sakarkalt, Mankalakúr, and Sakrit and falls into the western ocean On the south of it is the river

it the Jamnufúri and the Kathoní unite with the Gomatí The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Saran and Perhi, names which conform pretty well with the رند and سرو of M. Reinaud's manuscript [General Cunningham says, "The second of these rivers is undoubtedly the *Gumti*, which in Sanskrit is the *Gomati*. The first is either the *Behta*, or else the *Rahrá* which joins the Behta, and the third is the *Saram*, a good sized stream, which passes by Sitapur Both the Behta and the Saram join the *Gumti* near Barz, which still exists as a good sized village" *Arch. Rep.* for 1862-3 in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* page xvii]

<sup>1</sup> [ياوت د باوت ع باوب ا]

<sup>2</sup> These are evidently the Sítá and Chakshu of Bháskara Achárya. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer — "The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them Under the name of Sítá this river joins the Bhadrásava, as the Alakánandá it enters Bharatavarsha, as the Chakshu it proceeds to Retumala, and as the Bhadrá it goes to the Kuru of the north" *Siddhanta Siromaní*, *Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38 See also *Vishnú Purána*, p. 171 Professor Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents, the southern branch is the Ganges of India, the northern branch, which flows into Turkey is the Bhadrásomá, the eastern branch is the Sítá, and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus" *Sanskrit Dict. Art. Meru* But the Rámáyana mentions seven streams, and from that work Birdání evidently copied his statement The true Sanskrit names were almost identical with those given in the text The eastern streams are Hlúdání, Pavaní and Naliní, the western are Sítá, Suchakshu, and Sindhu In the centre flows the Bhágirathí The Matsya and Padma Puránas give the same account See *Rámáyana* I. b. I. XLIV 14, 16 Ed. Schlegel [The three western rivers ought to be the Sír, Sítán, or Jaxartes, the Jihán or Oxus, and the Indus Jakash is probably a corrupt form of Chakshu, and bears a suspicious resemblance to the classic Jaxartes Of all the countries mentioned in connection with the Sit and Jakash, Marv appears to be the only one that can be identified with any degree of probability]

<sup>3</sup> [The names of these countries are so discrepant, that Sir H. Elliot omitted those of the Sind and Ganges as being "illegible," but he printed the text as it is found in the Calcutta and Lucknow copies These, with the three copies in England, ought to afford sufficient means for settling the names with tolerable accuracy To facilitate comparison, the various readings are set out below in

Jakash, which flows by the countries of Maiv, Kálík, Dhúlak, Nijár,

juxtaposition Where one reading only is given, the whole of the MSS are sufficiently concurrent.]

## RIVER SIT

1 E I LIBRARY	2 BRIT MUS	3 CALCUTTA	4 LUCKNOW	5 ARABIC OF R. A S
سلک				
کرسیم	کرسب	کرسب	کروشپ	کرسٹ
حیر	حمر	حین	حین	صین
نریر				
حیرہ	حمرہ	حمرہ	حمرہ	حیرہو
سکرکلت	لشکرکلت	لشکرکلت	سکرکلت	سکرکلت (two names?)
carat	carat	carat	سکرکٹ کور	سکرکلی کو
سکریت	سکریت	سکریت	سکریت	سکریت

## RIVER JAKASH

کلش	حکس	کلش	حکش	حکش
درو	درو	درو	درو	درو
کالٹ				
دھولک				
محار	لحارو	محار	محار	تحرار
نریرکاح				
نکروار	نکروار	نکروار	نلقومار	نلقومار
انجبت				

## RIVER SIND

درد				
درد	درد	درد	درد	درد
کادرہار	کادرہار	کادرہار	کادرہار	کادرہار
دورس	دورس	دورس	دورس	دورس
کرور				
سمور	سمور	سمور	سمور	سمور
اند				

Barbarkáj, Bakrúbár, and Anjat, and waters the farms and fields of those places<sup>1</sup>

The river of Sind crosses that country<sup>2</sup> in many places of its length and breadth, and bounds it in many others. Its well-known towns are Dard, Randanand, Kandahar, Rúras, Karúr, Siyúr, Indar, Marw, Siyát, Sind, Kand, Bahimrúr, Marmún, and Sakurad.

The river Ganges passes over the central pillar of the moon to Barkandharat, Rásakín, Baládar,<sup>3</sup> Aurkán, and many other cities and towns, it then touches the defiles of Band, where there are many elephants, and passes on to the southern ocean.

Among the eastern streams is the Ládán which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are exceedingly black, and have no colour or complexion. Then it runs through several other countries to Hast Áin, where it falls into the eastern sea.

#### RIVER SIND (continued)

1 E. I. LIBRARY	2. BRIT. MUSE.	3. CALCUTTA.	4. LUCKNOW	5. ARABIC OF E. A. S.
سرو	سرو	سرو	سرو	سرو
سات	سات	سیات	سات	سات
سعید	سد	سند	سید	سید
کد	کیت	کد	کت	کمت
نہمہرور	نہمہرور	نہیمہرور	نہیمہرور	نہیمہرور
مرہور	مرمون	مرمون	مرمون	مرموروت
سکور	سکوروت	سکور	سکور	شکور

#### RIVER GANGES

برکلدھر	برکیدھر	برکلدیرت	برکلدھرت	برکلکھرت
راسکین	راسکین	راسکین	واکش	راکشین
بلادر	بلادر	بلادان	برادر	بدادر
اورکان				

<sup>1</sup> [This last sentence is found only in the Arabic version.]

<sup>2</sup> [The words following down to the full stop are in the Arabic version only.]

<sup>3</sup> [These names are possibly intended for Bhágirathí, Rikhikesh (Pikkee Kasee of Thornton), and Hardwár. See the Variants.]

The river Māran<sup>1</sup> waters the land of Kit<sup>2</sup> and flows through deserts. It passes through several countries where the people wear the bark of trees and grass instead of clothes, and are friendly to the brahmans. Then it passes through the desert and flows into the sea of Ajáj<sup>3</sup>.

The river Bakan passes through Nāmran,<sup>4</sup> and through several countries where the people have their habitations in the hills.—then it flows on to the Karans and the Barbarans,<sup>5</sup> i.e., people whose ears hang down to their shoulders. Next it touches the country of the Ashmuks,<sup>6</sup> whose faces are like the faces of animals. Then it falls into the sea.

The Lashan-barān is a river with a wide bed. It falls into the sea.

#### SECTION IV —*Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants*

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into nine<sup>7</sup> parts. The Indians are of

<sup>1</sup> [So in MS A MS C has باون, and Elliot had Māwan]

<sup>2</sup> [ك in A ك in C]

<sup>3</sup> [So in A C has احاج, and Elliot had Jáj]

<sup>4</sup> [So in Elliot, MS A may be read as "Māmran" C has مامراب]

<sup>5</sup> These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rāmāyana, the Karna-prāvaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashta-karnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Oshtha-karnakas, "having lips extending to their ears." See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII p. 466 Robertson, *Ancient India*, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> This is evidently meant for the Sanskrit word Aswa-mukha, the "horse-faced." They are noticed also in the sequel of the Periplus. They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera. The tales of those demigods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals. See Ælian, *Nat. Animal* IV. 46 *Ctesias Operum Reliquia*, ed. Bayer, p. 320 Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 36 Plin. *Histor. Nat.* VII. 2 Vincent, *Comm. and Nar. of the Ancients*, Vol. II p. 524 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII p. 338, and Vol. IX p. 68 *Megasthenes*, 8, 64, 66, 69.

<sup>7</sup> [The Arabic again says "nine," and the MS B agrees. MSS A and D say "three." See note, page 44.]

opinion that each part<sup>1</sup> is nine times larger than Iran. It is situated in three *Iklims* (climes), the western portion is in the third clime, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate. Its central territory is called *Madades*, which means "the middle land." The Persians call it *Kanauj*. It is called the *Madades*, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between the hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east. It was the capital of the great, haughty, and proud despots of India. *Sind* lies on the west of this territory. If any one wishes to come from *Nimroz*, i.e. the country of *Sijistan*, or Iran to this country, he will have to pass through *Kábul*. The city of *Kanauj* stands on the western bank of the *Ganges*.<sup>2</sup> It was formerly a most magnificent city, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen into neglect and ruin, and *Bari*, which is three days' journey from it on the eastern side of the *Ganges* is now the capital. *Kanauj* is as celebrated for the descendants of the *Pandavas* as *Máhúra* (*Mattira*) is on account of *Básdeo* (*Krishna*). The river *Jumna* lies to the east of this city, and there is a distance of twenty-seven *parasangs* between the two rivers. The city of *Thánesar* is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy *parasangs* north of *Kanauj*, and fifty *parasangs* from *Mahúra* (*Mattira*). The *Ganges* issues from its source, called *Gang-dwár*, and waters many of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from travellers.

In stating these distances we will begin from *Kanauj*. In going towards the south, between the rivers *Jumna* and *Ganges*, you arrive at a place called *Jáymau*,<sup>3</sup> at a distance of twelve *parasangs*, each *parasang* being equal to four miles, eight *parasangs* from that

<sup>1</sup> [The Arabic says "each part," and the Persian has a blank where these words should come in.]

<sup>2</sup> [Binákití, who quotes portions of this chapter, adds—"which comes from the city of *Turmuz*, through the mountains of the east."]

<sup>3</sup> M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that *Jáymau*, close to *Kánhpúr*, (*Cawnpoor*) is meant. It is a town of great antiquity.

is Karwa, from Karwa to Brahmashk, eight, thence to Abhábudí,<sup>1</sup> eight, thence to the tree<sup>2</sup> of Baragi (Prag,) twelve This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve<sup>3</sup> parasangs From the above-mentioned tree, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tirat,<sup>4</sup> which is distant twelve parasangs, to the country of Urfhár,<sup>5</sup> forty, to Urdabishak,<sup>6</sup> on the borders of the sea, fifty, from thence, still on the shore of the sea, on the east, there is a kingdom which is at present near Chún, and the beginning (*mabda'*) of that is Dar (or Dur,)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Reinaud and Elliot read "Abhápúrí," but our MSS have "búdí" The Arabic version translates "Abhú," and says "waters of Bádí"]

<sup>2</sup> The mention of the *tree* is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence, which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpurí, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád

<sup>3</sup> This accords with Al Birúni's original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error [The Arabic version of Rashidu-d din says simply "from hence to the Ganges," but this does not mend the matter]

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the Island of Karan Tirat, now abbreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápur

<sup>5</sup> M Reinaud reads *Oubarhar* [The initial letters *Ur* are clear in all the copies, the third letter is *n*, in the E I Library MS, and the final *r* is also wanting in that and in the B M MS The true reading is probably given in the Lucknow copy which has Urfhár, meaning in all likelihood, Orissa]

<sup>6</sup> M Reinaud reads Ourdabyschhau [but the final *k* is clear in all our copies] See Lassen, *Ind Alterthumskunde*, I 186

<sup>7</sup> This is very obscure [Our MSS differ in several points—the text given is a literal translation of the Persian وار آن جا هم بر ساحل ار حبهت مشرق مملکتی است که در این وقت چون بر دیک اسب و مداء MS B reads چون for حوں, adds آن after سي و منها الي کاجي The reading of C is در دور and for the last در it has دور The reading of C is منها الي کاجي من حبه المشرق الي مملکه هرب من حور و مداء ها دور ار بعون [در سجا و منها الي کاجي ثلثون در سجا] M Reinaud translates it thus en suivant les bords de la mer et on se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles confinent maintenant les états du roi Djour, la première de ces est Dravida

forty From thence to Kánjī,<sup>1</sup> thirty, to Mahā, forty, to Kínak,<sup>2</sup> thirty, which is the remotest point

If you go from Bári, on the banks of the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodh, at the distance of twenty-five parasangs, thence to the great Benares,<sup>3</sup> about twenty. Then, turning, and taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, to Sharúar,<sup>4</sup> thence to Pátliputra,<sup>5</sup> twenty, thence to Mungíri, fifteen, thence to Champā,<sup>6</sup> thirty, thence to Dukampur, fifty, thence to the confluence of the Ganges with the sea at Ganga Sugar, thirty

In going from Kanaúj to the east you come to Málī Bári,<sup>7</sup> at the distance of ten parasangs, thence to Dukam, forty-five, thence to

<sup>1</sup> [Káuchí or Conjeveram]

<sup>2</sup> [MSS *A* and *B* apparently have "Karand," but *C* has Kútāl Reinand has "Kounaka," and this is supported by MS *D*

<sup>3</sup> [*A* has بيان سي, *B* بانارسي, *C* باری]

<sup>4</sup> [The first edition had Sarwár, but Reinand has "Scharourar" which is doubtless right,—MSS *A* and *B* say تا شروار where the *ta* may or may not be a preposition. The Arabic makes it part of the name الى الشروار. This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond the Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, "the other side of the Sarjú." So Páradās is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live beyond the Indus, just as τα πέρα is used in the Periplus of the Erythraean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Plutarch (*Camillus*, C 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν "the other side of the river."

<sup>5</sup> [So in the first edition Reinand has "Patalypotra" *A* has باطل جهر, *B* has بابا سلي, and *C* تاتلي بن. The last is probably intended for Pátāl pattan.]

<sup>6</sup> [So in the first edition, Reinand has "Djanbah," *A* and *B* حبه, *C* حية.]

<sup>7</sup> This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bári means "a garden," and Málī "a gardener," the words are frequently coupled together. The two names occur in conjunction, in a common charm for the bite of a wasp. Reinand has simply "Bary," *A* تل باری, *B* ملي باري, *C* [فالى باري]

the kingdom of Silhet,<sup>1</sup> ten, thence to the city of Bhut,<sup>2</sup> twelve, thence for two hundred parasangs it is called Tilút, where the men are very black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. It extends to the mountains of Kámru,<sup>3</sup> to the sea and to Nípál Travellers in this direction report that going to the left hand towards the east, which is the country of Tibet, one arrives at Nípál at twenty parasangs distance, all on the ascent<sup>4</sup>

From Nípál to Bhútesar<sup>5</sup> is thirty days' journey, which implies a distance of about eighty parasangs There are many ascents and descents There, on account of the steep and rugged roads, they carry burdens on the shoulders Bridges are built in several places, and the rivers run in deep channels a hundred yards below the surface of the hills They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhútesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet There the language, costume, and appearance of the people are different Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of twenty parasangs From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Kanauj, in travelling south-east, on the western side of the Ganges, you come to Jajahotí, at a distance of thirty parasangs, of which the capital is Kajuráha<sup>6</sup> In that country are the two forts

<sup>1</sup> This may be the Silhet Sháhjahánpúr of the Gorakhpúr district, near the Gandak In that case, Tilut would correspond with Tírhút

<sup>2</sup> [So in MS *D*, Renaud has Bhot, *A* and *C* agree in reading بهت, *B* has an entirely different name سرپس.]

<sup>3</sup> [The MSS *C* and *D* agree with Renaud in reading Kámru, for Kámru, which is no doubt right *A* and *B* have كوه مرو, and the first edition had "Mera"]

<sup>4</sup> [This passage is not in *A* nor in the old version from the Indian MSS, but it is given by Renaud]

<sup>5</sup> M Renaud reads Yhoutysoher; the same reading occurs at p 40

<sup>6</sup> This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols" (p 162) Its real name is Kajrái, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-ohi-to of the The ruined temples at Kajrái are of great antiquity and described in the Mahoba Samá, and there said to have been the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential



of Gwáhlár and Kálinjar<sup>1</sup> Thence to Dhál,<sup>2</sup> of which the capital is Bitúrī to the kingdom of Kankyú<sup>3</sup> and Kankara is twenty parasangs Thence to Asúr, thence to Banawás<sup>4</sup> on the shore of the sea.

From Kanauj in travelling south-west, you come to Ásí,<sup>5</sup> at the distance of eighteen parasangs, to Sahína,<sup>6</sup> seventeen, to Chandra,<sup>7</sup> eighteen, to Rajauri,<sup>8</sup> fifteen, to Narana<sup>9</sup> the capital of

mitted a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self imposed punishment for her indiscretion, hold a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world Hamotī was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrajī, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares

<sup>1</sup> There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older than A.D. 1205 Birúnī's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite (See *Journal A S B* No 188 p 172) <sup>2</sup> [*A* and *B* have Dháli]

<sup>3</sup> [Reinaud has, "On arrive aussi à Dhál dont la capitale est Bitoura Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyou. On compte de là au royaume de Kannakara, twenty parasangs" There is no mention of a prince in our manuscripts, the name may be either personal or local — *A* says بادھالي و قصه آن سوري و تا *B* agrees, but gives the names

مملک ککیو و لکڑہ بیست فرسنگ  
[إلى دھال و بتوی الى مملک ککیو ککڑہ *C* has ندري ککیو ککی]

<sup>4</sup> [Reinaud has "Onpsour" and "Banaonās,"—the first edition had "Isúr" and "Bhawas" *A* and *B* have أسور مواس, *C* has السور مواس Banavási was the name of the capital of the Kadamba dynasty in the Dekhin Wilson's Mack. Coll. Introd.]

<sup>5</sup> M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi*. If Hansi of Harána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asnī, are on the banks of the Ganges It is mentioned in the *Táríkh-i Yamíní*, and is the place to which the Rájá of Kanauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghonah General, Kutbn-d din Ibak.

<sup>6</sup> [*C* has Sahalamá.]

<sup>7</sup> This is evidently meant for Chanderi

<sup>8</sup> [So in Reinaud and the first edition, *A* has موري or هوري, *B* اهوري, *C* احوري]

<sup>9</sup> [Elliot read the name "Naraya" and "Niraya" Reinaud has "Bazána," but he adds—"le manuscrit porte en quelques endroits *Nardna*" MS *A* is tolerably consistent in reading Barána, *B*, *C*, and *D* are generally without points, but *C* has Narána in one place, and *D* Tarána. Reinaud's translation differs,—It proceeds, "Cetto villo est celle quo nos compatriotes, appellent Narayana, comme elle a été détruite, les habitants se sont transportés dans un lieu plus reculé" Narána is probably a contraction of Náráyana and the right name Sir H. Elliot considered it "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western provinces to identify in the pages of Birúní, on account of its being so frequently mentioned" as a point of departure of several Itineraries. He thought it to be represented by the modern

Guzerat,<sup>1</sup> eighteen When the capital of Guzerát was destroyed, the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier<sup>2</sup> The distance between Narana and Mahúra is the same as between Mahúra and Kanauj, that is twenty-eight parasangs

In going from Mahura to Ujain, you pass through several neighbouring villages, at no greater distances from one another than five parasangs<sup>3</sup> From Máhura, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, you come to a large town called Dudhí, thence to Báhúr,<sup>4</sup> seven, thence to Mahábalastán,<sup>5</sup> five This is the name of the idol of that place Thence to Ujain<sup>6</sup> nine, the idol of which place is Mahakál Thence to Dhár,<sup>7</sup> six parasangs

Narwar, and entered into details to support this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát General Cunningham takes another view, and says, "In my fourth Report I have identified Guzerát with Bairát, or the ancient Matsya Bairát was the capital, but it was also used for the name of the country, as for instance by Hwen Tsang, who calls it *Po-li-ye-to-lo* Firsihta gives these two names as Kariát and Nárdin, which, he says, were two lully tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazni Now Guzerát and Kariát are only slight corruptions of Bairát, when written in Persian characters, and Nárdin and Narána are still slighter alterations of Náráyana, which is the name of a town to the north-east of Bairát, about twelve miles Mathura is said to be equidistant from Kanauj and from Narána, which agrees with this identification" General Cunningham proceeds "*Asi* is on the Jumna below the junction of the Chumbul, and therefore a favourable point for crossing *Sakina* I take to be Suhama, a very ancient town thirty miles to the north of Gwalior, and which is said to have been the capital of the country in former days Its ruins cover several square miles *Chandra* I take to be Hindou, and Rájáori is still known by the same name It will be found between Hindou and Bairát, to the north of the Bán Ganga river"—Cunningham, MS Note ]

<sup>1</sup> [A writes this كورات, C كورات ]

<sup>2</sup> [A and B have بلدة حدوده C شهر حدوده, the first edition translated it, "a new town" The town of Hudúda ?]

<sup>3</sup> [So it stands in the first edition in accord with Al Birúni, but there is an omission in A and C the former makes the distance to Dudhí five parasangs, and the latter, thirty parasangs]

<sup>4</sup> [So in A Re naud has "Bamhour," the first edition had, "Bafhúr," B and C have "Máhúra"]

<sup>5</sup> ["Bhalycean," in Re naud, Mahabhalesán in first edition, Bahábalastán in A, and B has the same in the first instance, but in the second the first letter may be m, C has Baháflasán here and Bahábalasán below It says "Balasán" is the name of the idol (و نلسان اسم صنم هكائ)—Mahábalastán has been selected as being probably intended for the Sanskrit *Mahábalasthan*]

<sup>6</sup> [The first edition had Ujain, and so has MS C Rein has او حيررو, and B او حمررو]

<sup>7</sup> [So in Biruni, in first edition, and in B, A has درهر Persian original of which was probably تادهار]

South from Narana at fifteen parasangs distance lies Mewar,<sup>1</sup> which has the lofty fortress of Chitor.<sup>1</sup> From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Malwa, twenty. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of nine parasangs. From Ujain to Mahábalastán,<sup>2</sup> which is in Malwá,<sup>3</sup> ten. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahumabrah,<sup>4</sup> at the distance of twenty parasangs, thence to Kundakí,<sup>5</sup> twenty, thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda,<sup>6</sup> ten, thence to Biswar,<sup>7</sup> twenty, thence to Matdakar,<sup>8</sup> on the banks of the Godavery, sixty parasangs.

From Dhár southwards to the river Nerbadda,<sup>9</sup> nine; thence to Mahrat-des (the country of the Mahrattas), eighteen, thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, twenty-five parasangs.

<sup>1</sup> This would appear to be the correct reading. M. Reinaud translates "Myrcet le nom d'un royaume où se trouve la forteresse de Djastraour." [This is a most doubtful name. *A* has بلسعار, *B* سلعار, *C* مستار, *D* ميعار. *A* and *B* omit the name of the fort, but *C* has جتور, and *D* حترو.]

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at Udegir, Sachch, Kanch Kheri, and Piplea Byoli. There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Erán Udipúr, Pathári, anciently called Bîrnagar, Gheúrîspur and Bhojpúr.

<sup>3</sup> [This accords with Al Birûnî. There is some confusion in the MS. *A* reads — وار اوحين بهالستان و او ار ولايت مالوت دو, (*B* ده) فرسگ. *A* says, [ومها الي اوحين بهالستان وهي من حمله مالوا عشرة فراسخ.]

<sup>4</sup> [مهرمهره in *A* and in first edition.] This may have some connection with the Matmayurpur, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as "repopulating this long desolate city"—*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No 183, p. 1086. <sup>5</sup> [Reinand has "Kondouhou"]

<sup>6</sup> [So the first edition, and so Reinaud, the latter adds, "Albyrouny à écrit *Narmada* qui est la forme Sanskrita." The Nerbadda is no doubt intended, though our MSS. are very vague and discrepant. *A* has بهر بودوه, *B* has نرسد, *C* has ترمد, and *D* برد.]

<sup>7</sup> [So in first edition, Reinaud has "Albosponr," *A* and *B* have نسور (Biswar), *C* has نسور.]

<sup>8</sup> [This reading accords with Reinand's, and with MS. *C*. MS. *A* has no points, *D* has "Matdakar" or "Mandkar," and the first edition had "Mnndgr"]

<sup>9</sup> [So in the first edition and probably right. Reinand has "Nymyrah," *A* and *B* have وادي امه, *C* has وادي نمه, and *D* وادي نمه.]

[Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic of Al Birúní, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called *Kurkadan* in the original, and appears to be the same as the *καρτάζωνον* of *Ælian*, *Hist. An. XVI* 20, 21. The Sarabha is called *Shardawát* in the Persian, and *Sharaudat* in the Arabic MS.]

Abu Rihán states that from *Narána*, in a south-west direction, lies *Anhalwara*<sup>1</sup>, at a distance of sixty parasangs, thence to *Somnát*, on the sea, fifty. From *Anhalwara*, towards the south, to *Lárdes*<sup>2</sup>, of which the capitals are *Bahrú* and *Dhanyúr*<sup>3</sup>, forty-two. These are on the shore of the sea, to the east of *Tína*.

West from *Narána*<sup>4</sup> is *Multan*, at the distance of fifty parasangs; thence to *Bhátí*<sup>5</sup>, fifteen. South-east from *Bhátí* is *Arúr*<sup>6</sup>, at a distance of fifteen parasangs. *Bhátí* is situated between two arms of the *Indus*. Thence to *Bahmanú Mansúri*, twenty, thence to *Loharíní*, the embouchure of the river, thirty parasangs.

From *Kanauj*, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to *Shurasháriha*<sup>7</sup>, fifty parasangs. Thence to *Pujor*, eighteen parasangs. That place is on a lofty hill,<sup>8</sup> and opposite to it, in the

<sup>1</sup> [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A* has *هلوارد* and *الهوان*, *B* *هلوارد*, *C* and *D* *هبلوارد*. *Nahalwára* is only another form of the name.]

<sup>2</sup> See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f. d. K. d. Morgenl.* I 227. [*Ílta-desa* in Sanskrit and the *Larice* of Ptolemy. We have a copper-grant made by the Rája of this country in A. D. 812. See *Jour. Beng. A. S.*, April, 1839, *Jour. R. A. S.* viii 16.]

<sup>3</sup> [Reinaud has "Rihanhour." *A* and *B* have *دهمكور*, and *C* has *دهككور*. The letters *m* and *h* are liable to be confounded, so that Elliot's reading is probably right.]

<sup>4</sup> See note 9, page 58.

<sup>5</sup> [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A* has *بهاهي* and *بهاي*, *B* *بنابي*, *C* *بهاتي*, *D* *بهاتي*. The "*Bána*," of the other geographers?]

<sup>6</sup> [*A* has *ارور*, *B* *اودا*, *D* *ارور*. *Alor*?]

<sup>7</sup> [Elliot reads "*Sirsáwah*," Reinaud "*Schurscharhah*," *A* has *شارهه*, *B* *شرشارهه*, *C* *شرشارهه*, *D* *شرشار*. "This is certainly *Sirsáwah*, an old and famous place where both *Taimúr* and *Babér* halted"—Cunningham.]

<sup>8</sup> This is not correct with reference to modern *Pinjore*, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills.

In the year 692 A.H. (1293 A.D.) the Dewar died, and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jamálu-d-din who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock loads of jewels, gold, etc., and Takiu-d-din, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant. \* \* \*

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

There are two courses, or roads, from this place: one leads by sea to Chin and Máchín, passing by the island of Sílán.<sup>2</sup> It is four parasangs long, and four wide. It is parallel to the equator.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the Júdí<sup>3</sup> mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Samkáda-díp (Sinhala-díp), i.e. the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,<sup>4</sup> and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Rubies and other precious stones are found there. In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The Island of Lámúri,<sup>5</sup> which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmútra [Sumatra],<sup>6</sup> and beyond

<sup>1</sup> [So in first edition. *A* has لوبر, *B* بونور, *C* بوتور, Binákítí بوتور.]

<sup>2</sup> [*A* سيلان, *B* بهيلان, *C* ميلان, Binákítí, سيلان.]

<sup>3</sup> [All the MSS read Júdí. Sir H. Elliot thought this a mistake for Janubí, "southern".]

<sup>4</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I 201.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Shajrat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Sumatra, situated in the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramnad (*de Reb. Ind.*, p. 59). M. Reinaud considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123). M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Sumatra (*Jour. Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII 117, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúri of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

<sup>6</sup> This is distinctly called a country (*icildyat*) in the Persian, *balad* in the Arabic. It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Sumatra by the name of Java, and that Sumatra was one of its towns. Java itself was called Mál Java. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX pp. 119, 124, 244.

that Darband Nias,<sup>1</sup> which is a dependency of Jáva. In the mountains of Jáva scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Barlak, Dalmian, Java, and Bar-kúdor.<sup>2</sup> The mountains of Jáva are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Límuri is the island of Likwaram,<sup>3</sup> which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Ku-án [Emperor of China].

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Ká-án. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Hantam,<sup>4</sup> subject also to the Ku-án.

Beyond that is Mahi Chin,<sup>5</sup> then the harbour of Zaitun,<sup>6</sup> on the shore of China sea,<sup>7</sup> and an officer of the Ku-an, entitled

<sup>1</sup> [The Arabic version has Darband Manás.] This may be Pulu Nias, which M M Maurr and Dalaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom VIII 200, and *Bulletin de la Société de Geog.*, April, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlah is no doubt Tanjung Parlah, or Diamond Point, on the north east coast of Sumatra. Barúdor [or Bálúdur, as the Arabic MS gives it] without any violent metathesis may perhaps be read Benecolen—the Wau Kou-Leou of the Chinese. (*Nouv J A XI 51*). Towards Papua is a large island called Aru, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Jáva according to Ptolemy—*ἔχειν τε μέτροπολιν ὄνομα Ἀργυρῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσμικοῖς ἰσμοῖς*. *Geog.*, VII 2, 29.

<sup>3</sup> As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Idrisi seem to designate this group by the term Lantabulú.

<sup>4</sup> [So in the first edition, and so in MS *A*. *B* has *حسم*, *C* has *حسم*, and Binákliti *حشم*.]

<sup>5</sup> Idrisi calls this Sinatu-s Sin, situated at the extremity of the empire. "No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." Ibn al Wárdi says, "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean."

<sup>6</sup> A port in the province of Fo-Kien. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p 561. M Klaproth, *Mém. rel. d l'Asie* Tom II p 208, and M Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom, II pp 25, 26.

<sup>7</sup> [This reading of the first edition is supported by the Arabic MS *C*, which says, "After this is Chín the great" *[الدين الاعلى]* after that the harbour of Zaitun on the shore of the sea of Ching. The Persian MS *A* and Binákliti entirely omit the first sentence.]

Shak,<sup>1</sup> resides there Beyond that is Khansái, in which the market-place<sup>2</sup> is six parasangs broad, from which it may be judged how large the place is It is subject to the deputies of the Ka-an, who are Moghals, Musulmans, Khitayans, and Ghuris Khansái<sup>3</sup> is the capital.

Forty days journey from it lies Khánbalik,<sup>4</sup> the capital of the Phoenix of the west—Káán, King of the earth<sup>5</sup>

With respect to the other road which leads from M'abar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Kábal, then proceeds to the city of Kunju and Sunjú, then to Kin, then to Mali Fatan,<sup>6</sup> then to Kardaráyá, then to Hawáriún,<sup>7</sup> then to Dakl,<sup>8</sup> then to Byalár,<sup>9</sup> which, from of old, is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán His army consists of Turks Beyond that is the country of Ratbán, then Arman,<sup>10</sup> then Zar-dandán,<sup>11</sup> so called because the people cover their teeth with gold

<sup>1</sup> [So in first edition, and so in MS *A* MS *C* and Binákiti have "Sank"]

<sup>2</sup> [So in the first edition MS *A* says *بارو* "a fort or tower" Binákiti says *دریاچه* "a lake" The Arabic version says *باوودم* ]

<sup>3</sup> The original is Janksái [in all the MSS except Binákiti, who has Khansái], but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khansa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen Marco Polo calls it Quinsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world It was the capital of southern China, or Mahá Chín Its present name is Hang-toheou-fou, capital of the province of Tche-Kiang See M. Renaud, *Relation des Voyages*, Tom I pp cx, cxviii, and M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp lxxvii, lxxxix Ibn Batouta, IV 284

<sup>4</sup> Tho Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese See Assemani, *Biblioth Orient* Tom III p 2, p 512 [Jánbálík in *A* and in Binákiti]

<sup>5</sup> See *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*, pp 119, 220 *Dabistán*, v III p 250

<sup>6</sup> [The Arabic MS has "from Kábal to Kin, and from thence to Mali-Katan" Binákiti reads "from Kábal-fatan to Majh-fatan," and a marginal emendation says, "from Kábal (or Kámal) patan to Majli patan," i.e., Masulipatam]

<sup>7</sup> [Hawármun in *A*]

<sup>8</sup> [MS *A* has "Dakal" The Arabic and Binákiti both read "Dehli"]

<sup>9</sup> [So in the first edition *A* says *بجالا* Bajalá, but *C* and Binákiti have *بكال* Bengál]

<sup>10</sup> [MSS *A*, *C*, and Binákiti agree in this The first edition and MS *B* have "Uman"]

<sup>11</sup> This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. (*Hist des Mongols*, p xcvi.) "This island of Sumatra is the first island

They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Ká-an. This country is bounded on one side by the sea, afterwards comes the country of Rahau, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men,—they likewise are subject to the Ká-an.<sup>1</sup> Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining M'abar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of M'abar. Its capital is Duru Samundur [Dwara Samudra].

Another large country is called Kandahar, which the Moghals call Karajang. These people spring from Kintu and Hind. In the time<sup>2</sup> of Kubli Ka-an,<sup>3</sup> it was subdued by the Moghals. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khutá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities, Hind is celebrated for its armies, Kandahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their horses.

wherein we knew man's flesh to be eaten by certain people which live in the mountains, called Bers, who use to gild their teeth." *Ant. Galrand's Disc. of the World in Halluyt*, IV 422. See also *Purchas His Pilgrimage* p 437. *Marsden's M. Jolo*, p 429, 434.]

<sup>1</sup> [This passage was not in the first edition, and it is not in the MS. A, but the other MSS. and Binkiti have it.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Arabic says, "Towards the end of the reign."]

<sup>3</sup> This is also mentioned in the Mongol work called Bodimor. See Pallás, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T. I p 19.

The country of Karjáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quentremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p xciv.



VIII<sup>\*</sup>

## NUZHATU-L MUSHTAK

OF

## AL IDRÍSÍ

ABÚ 'ABDU-LLAH MUHAMMAD was born at Ceuta, in Morocco, towards the end of the 11th century. He was member of a family which descended from an ancestor named Idrís, and so came to be known by the name of Al Idrísí. This family furnished a line of princes for Morocco in the 9th and 10th centuries, and the branch from which Idrísí sprung ruled over the city of Malaga. Idrísí travelled in Europe, and eventually settled in Sicily at the court of Roger II. It was at the instance of this prince that he wrote his book on geography. He cites in his preface the various authors whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. Further information was derived from travellers, whose verbal statements he compared and tested, and M. Reinaud quotes the Biographical Dictionary of Khalílu-s Safadí to the effect that men of intelligence were specially commissioned to travel and collect information for his use. The full title of the work is, *Nuzhatu-l Mushták fi Ikhtiráku-l Áfák*, "The Delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world." A full translation of the whole work into French was published at Paris in 1836 and 1840 by M. Jaubert, and from this the following Extracts have been done into English. Idrísí's work met with very early attention. An abridgment of the text was published at Rome in 1592, and a Latin translation was printed at Paris in 1619, entitled "*Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio*"

*continens, præsertim eccetam universæ Asiæ et Africæ, in Latinum versa a Gabrich Siomita et Joanne Hesromita*" Hartmann in 1796 published at Gottingen, from the abridgement, "*Elrisu descriptio Africæ*" The description of Spain was translated into Spanish by Conde in 1799, and the portions relating to Africa and Spain have just been published with a translation by M M Dory and de Goeje Zenker, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, mentions translations of other detached portions

Makamkam, whose country is Sáj Next the king of Sáfan or Taban, then the king of Jába, then the king of Juzr, and then the king of Kámrún, whose states touch China

<sup>1</sup>The Indians are divided into seven castes The first is that of the Sakriya, These are the most noble, from among them kings are chosen, and from no others All the other castes pay homage to them, but they render homage to no one Next come the Brahmans, who are the religious class They dress in the skins of tigers and other animals Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd around him, and will stand from morn till eve speaking to his auditors of the glory and power of God, and explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people, that is, upon the Brahmans They never drink wine nor fermented liquors They worship idols (whom they consider to be) able to intercede with the Most High The third caste is that of the Kastariya, who may drink as much as three rats<sup>2</sup> of wine, but not more, lest they should lose their reason This caste may marry Brahman women, but Brahmans cannot take their women to wife Next comes the Shardúya, who are labourers and agriculturists, then the Basya, who are artizans and mechanics, then the Sabdáliya (or Sandáliya), who are singers, and whose women are noted for their beauty, and, lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects Some recognize the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets, while others deny the existence of both Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured Some pay adoration to fire, and cast themselves into the flames Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables, and feed as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion, and deny everything

SECOND CLIMATE *Section VII.*—The towns described in this

<sup>1</sup> [What follows is mainly derived from from Ibn Khurdádba. See *ante*, page 17]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ratl*, one pound Troy]

seventh section<sup>1</sup> are Kia, Kir, Armáyil, Kasr-band, Fínabúz, Khúr, Kambah, Manhíbari,<sup>2</sup> Debal, Nírún, Mansúra,<sup>3</sup> Wándan, Aslaku, Darak, Mísurjan, Fardan, Kírkáyán, Kadná, Basmak, 'Túharan [Tunán] Multán Jandúr, Sandúr, Dúr, Atrí,<sup>4</sup> Kálarí, Níná, Maswam, Sharúsán,<sup>5</sup> Báma, Mámal, Kambáya, Súbara, Siblán, and Sámúr.<sup>6</sup> In that part of the sea which is comprised in the present section, there are the isle of Súra, the two rocks of Kasar and Awár, that of Dardúr, the island of Debal, in which the town of Kaskihár, is situated, the isles of Aubkin, Mind, Kúlám-mali, and Sindán. All these countries are inhabited by people of different religions, customs, and manners. We will state all that we have ascertained for certain on this subject, confiding in Divine help.

The beginning of this section comprises, starting from the west, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and towards the south the town of Debal. This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile, and it produces scarcely any trees except the date-palm. The highland are arid and the plains sterile. Houses are built of clay and mud, but the place is inhabited only because it is a station for the vessels of Sind and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the productions of Uman, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. They bring stuffs and other goods from China and the perfumes and aromatics of India. The inhabitants of Debal, who are

six miles between the mouth of the great Míhrán and Debal. From Debal to Nirún, on the west of the Míhrán, three days' journey. Nirún is half way between Debal and Mansúra, and people going from one town to the other here cross the river.

Nirún is a town of little importance, but it is fortified, and its inhabitants are rich. Trees are rare. From hence to Mansúra rather more than three days.

Mansúra, the city last mentioned, is surrounded by a branch of the Míhrán, although it is at a distance from the river. It is on the west of the principal branch of the river which flows from its source to Kálarí, a town situated one days' journey from Mansúra. At Kálarí it divides—the principal branch runs towards Mansúra, the other flows northward as far as Sharúsán [Sadúsán], it then turns westwards and rejoins the chief stream, forming henceforward only one river. The junction takes place twelve miles below Mansúra. The Míhrán passes on to Nirún, and then flows into the sea. Mansúra occupies a space of a mile square. The climate is hot. The country produces dates and sugar-canes in abundance. There are hardly any other fruits, if we except one, a sort of fruit called laimun, as big as an apple and of a very sour taste, and another which resembles the peach both in shape and taste. Mansúra was built at the beginning of the reign of Al Mansúr, of the 'Abbáside family. This prince gave his name ("the victorious") to four different cities, as a good augury that they might stand for ever. The first was Baghdad in 'Irák, the second, Mansúra in Sind, the third, Al Masísa, on the Mediterranean, the fourth, that of Mesopotamia. That of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich, and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles, and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long like the princes of India. The money is silver and copper. The weight of the drachma (dínár) is five times that of the (ordinary) drachma. The Tátariya coins also are current here. Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound. The name of this city in Indian is Mírmán,

It is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nírún, Bániá, Kálarí, Atri, Sharúsán, Jandaur, Mauhábarí [Manjábarí], Basmak and Multán

Bániá is a little town The inhabitants are of mixed blood and are rich Living here is cheap and agreeable From Bániá to Mansura, three days, to Mámbal six, to Debal two From hence to Mamhal and Kanbrya the country is nothing but a marine strand, without habitations and almost without water, consequently, it is unpassable for travellers

Mámhal is situated between Sind and India Upon the confines of the desert just mentioned there dwells a hardy race called Mand [Med] They graze their flocks to within a short distance of Mámbhal These people are numerous They have many horses and camels, and they extend their incursions as far as Dur [Alor] upon the banks of the Míhrán, and sometimes they penetrate even as far as the frontiers of Makrún

Dur [Alor] is situated on the banks of the Míhrán, which runs to the west of the town It is a pleasant place, and worthy of comparison with Multán as regards size From thence to Basmak, three days, to Atri [Annarí], four days, and from thence to Kálarí, two days

Kálarí, upon the west bank of the Míhrán, is a pretty town, well fortified, and is a busy trading place Near it the Míhrán separates into two branches, the largest runs towards the west as far as the vicinity of Mansúria, which is on the west bank, the other runs towards the north-west, then to the north, and then towards the west Both again unite at the distance of about twelve miles below Mansúria. Although this town [Kálarí] is some distance out of the regular route, still it is much frequented in consequence of the profitable trade carried on with the inhabitants From hence to Mansura is a hard day's journey of forty miles From Kálarí to Sharúsán, three days

Sharúsán [Sadúsán] is remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and

waters, the distance is three days. From the latter place to Fírabúz,<sup>1</sup> six days. From Manhábárí to Debal, two days. In going from Debal to Fírabúz the road passes by Manhábárí, and between these two places it runs through Khúr, a small but populous town.

Fírabúz<sup>1</sup> is a town of which the inhabitants are rich. They carry on a good trade, they are men of their word and enemies of fraud, and they are generous and charitable. It belongs to the province of Makrán, as do the towns of Kír, Darak, Rúsik (inhabited by schismatics), Bah, Band, Kasr-band, Asfaka, Fahlafahra, Maskan, Tíz, and Balbak.

Makrán is a vast country, but the greater part of it is desert and poor. The largest of its towns is Kírúsi, which is nearly as large as Multán. Palm-trees are plentiful there, the land is cultivated, and a good deal of trade is carried on. On the west of it lies Tíz, a small sea-port much frequented by the vessels of Fars, as well as by those which come from the country of 'Umán and the isle of Kísh, which is situated in the Persian Gulf at a long day's sail distance. From Tíz to Kír [Kíz], five days. From Kír to Fírabúz, two long days' journey.

Between Kír [Kíz] and Armaíl there are two districts which touch each other, one called Rahún depends on Mansúria, and the other named Kalwan is a dependency of Makrán. These two districts are tolerably fertile, and they produce a few dates, but the inhabitants rely mainly on their flocks. Whoever wishes to go from Fírabúz to Makrán must pass by Kír. From thence to Armáil, a dependency of Makrán, two days' journey.

Armáil is nearly as large as Fírabúz. It is well peopled, and its environs are pleasant. The inhabitants are rich. From Armaíl to Kanbalí, two days' journey. Kanbalí competes with Armáil in respect of size, wealth, and population. It is about a mile and a half from the sea. Both these places are situated between Debal and Makrán.

Darak is a populous trading town, three days' journey from Fírabúz. South-west of Darak there is a high mountain, which is called the mountain of salt, because nearly all the water which runs from

<sup>1</sup> [Kannazbúr. See Note A. in Appx.]

it is saline There are habitations here From Darak to Rásak, three days' journey

The inhabitants of Rásak are schismatics Their territory is divided into two districts, one called Al Kharúj, the other Kír Káyau The sugar-cane is much cultivated, and a considerable trade is carried on in a sweetmeat called faniz, which is made here The cultivation of sugar and the manufacture of this sweetmeat are extensively pursued at Máskán and in the district of Kasrán The people of Muskán, Jaurán, and Túbarán, are for the most part schismatics The territory of Máskán joins that of Kirmán. The inhabitants have a great reputation for courage They have date trees, camels, cereals, and the fruits of cold countries The people of Makrán speak Persian and a dialect peculiar to the province They wear the tunic, the gown with sleeves, the cloak, waistcloth, and the mantle embroidered with gold, like the inhabitants of 'Irák and Persia

Fahlafahra, Asfaka, Band, and Kasri-band are dependencies of Makrán, which resemble each other very much in point of size, the nature and extent of their trade, and the state of their population From Fahlafahra to Rasak, two days From Fahlafahra to Asfaka, two days From Asfaka to Band, one day towards the west. From Asfaka to Darak, three days From Band to Kasri-band, one day From Kasri-band to Kia, four days From Mansuria to Tubaran, about fifteen days

Túbarán [Túrán] is near Fahraj, which belongs to Kirman It is a well fortified town, and is situated on the banks of a river of the same name (Túbarán), which are cultivated and fertile From hence to Fardán, a commercial town the environs of which are well populated, four days Kírkáyán lies to the west of Fardán, on the road to Túbarán. The country is well populated and is very fertile The vine grows here and divers sorts of fruit trees, but palms are not to be found. From Túbarán to Mustah,<sup>1</sup> a town in the midst of the desert, where many camels and sheep are bred, three days From Túbarán to Multán, on the borders of Sind, ten days

Multán is close upon India, some authors, indeed, place it in that country It equals Mansúra in size, and is called "the house of

<sup>1</sup> ["Maska," Bod MS]



gold." There is an idol here, which is highly venerated by the Indians, who come on pilgrimages to visit it from the most distant parts of the country, and make offerings of valuables, ornaments, and immense quantities of perfumes. This idol is surrounded by its servants and slaves, who feed and dress upon the produce of these rich offerings. It is in the human form with four sides,<sup>1</sup> and is sitting upon a seat made of bricks and plaster. It is entirely covered with a skin like red morocco, so that the eyes only are visible. Some maintain that the interior is made of wood, but others deny this. However it may be, the body is entirely covered. The eyes are formed of precious stones, and upon its head there is a golden crown set with jewels. It is, as we have said, square, and its arms, below the elbows, seem to be four in number. The temple of this idol is situated in the middle of Multán, in the most frequented bazar. It is a dome-shaped building. The upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty and the walls coloured. Around the dome are the dwellings of the attendants of the idol, and of those who live upon the produce of that worship of which it is the object. There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated. The people make it the object of a pious pilgrimage, and to obey it is a law. So far is this carried, that, when neighbouring princes make war against the country of Multán, either for the purpose of plunder or for carrying off the idol, the priests have only to meet, threaten the aggressors with its anger and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design. Without this fear the town of Multán would be destroyed. It is not surprising, then, that the inhabitants adore the idol, exalt its power, and maintain that its presence secures divine protection. Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up, they content themselves with saying that it is a wonder. Multán is a large city commanded by a citadel which has four gates and is surrounded by a moat. Provisions are abundant, and the taxes are light, so that the people are in easy circumstances. It bears the name of "the house of gold Farkh," because Muhammad bin Yúsuf, brother of Hájjáj, found forty bahárs of gold (a

<sup>1</sup> ["Elle est de forme humaine et à quatre côtés"—*Jaubert*]

bahár weighs 333 minas<sup>1</sup>) concealed there in a house Farkh and Bahár have the same signification The environs of this city are watered by a little river which falls into the Mihrán of Sind

At one mile from Multán is Jandúr [Jand-rúd]—a collection of forts strongly built, very high, and well supplied with fresh water The governor passes the spring time and his holidays here Ibn Haukal states that in his time the governor used to go every Friday from these castles to Multán mounted upon an elephant, according to an ancient usage The greater part of the population is Musulmán, so also is the judicial authority and the civil administration

Sandúr is situated three days' journey south of Multán It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel, and the abundance which prevails on the tables of the inhabitants It is considered to form part of India, and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samand. Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán. From Multán to the vicinity of Mansúra the country is occupied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Túbarán Makrán, Multán, and Mansúra, like the Berber nomads The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings, and marshes in which they take refuge, on the west of the Mihrán They possess excellent camels, and, particularly, a sort which they breed, called Karah. This is held in high esteem in Khúrasán and the rest of Persia. It resembles the camel of Balkh and the female camel of Samarkand, for it is of good temper and has two humps, not like the camels of our countries, which have only one From Mansúra to the confines of Nadha six days From the confines of Nadha to the city of Kír [Kíz] about ten days From Nadha to Tíz, at the extremity of Makrán, sixteen days. The town which the Nadhas most frequent for buying, selling, and other matters, is Kandáil Kír Káyán is a district known by the name of Ail,<sup>2</sup> inhabited by Musulmans and other people dependant on the Nadhas of whom

<sup>1</sup> ["The mina is a weight of about two pounds Our author in order to explain the meaning of farkh, employs the term bahár, the value of which it is unfortunately difficult to determine"—*Jaubert*]

<sup>2</sup> ["Not Abil Our two MSS agree in the orthography of this name, which seems to be of Turkish origin"—*Jaubert*.]

we have just spoken. The country produces corn, raisins, fruits, camels, oxen, and sheep. It bears the name of Ail, because a man of that name conquered it (in ancient times), and laid the foundation of its prosperity. From Kandáil to Mansúra about ten days.

The towns of Khúr Kakhla, Kúsa, and Kadírá belong to Sind. The last two are about equal in size, and carry on some trade with the Nadhas. On Túbarán there are dependent—Mahyak, Kír Káyán, Súra, Fardán, Kashrán, and Másúrján. Between Túbarán and Mansúra there are vast deserts and on the north, towards Sijistán, there are countries which are equally barren, and which are difficult of access.

Masúrján is a well-peopled commercial town, surrounded with villages, and built upon the banks of the river of Túbarán, from which town it is forty-two miles distant. From Masúrján to Darak-yámuna, 141 miles is the computed distance. From Darak-yámuna to Fírabúz or Fírabús, 175 miles.

The countries of India which touch upon Sind are—Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Khábírún, Sindán, Masúya, Saimúr, and the maritime isles of Aubkín, Mand, Kulam-Malí, and Sindán. The towns of India are very numerous, among them may be mentioned Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Asáwal, Janáwal, Sindán, Saimúr, Jándúr, Sandúr, Rúmala, in the desert. Kalbata, Aughasht, Nahrwára, and Laháwar.

Mámhal is by some numbered among the cities of India, by others among those of Sind. It is situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambáya, Debal, and Bánía. It is a town of moderate importance on the route of travellers passing from Sind to India. But little trade is carried on here. The environs are peopled, and produce small quantities of fruit, but there are numerous flocks. From hence to Mansúra, through Bánía, is considered nine days. From Mámhal to Kambáya, five days.

Kambáya stands three miles from the sea, and is very pretty. It is well known as a naval station. Merchandise from every country is found here, and is sent on from hence to other countries. It is placed at the extremity of a bay, where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water, and there is a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of

the island of Kísh From Kambáya to the isle of Aubkín, two-and-a-half days' sail From Aubkín to Debal, two days Kambáya is fertile in wheat and rice Its mountains produce the Indian kaná The inhabitants are idolaters (Buddhists) From hence to the island of Mand, the inhabitants of which are thieves, the passage is six milos To Kúlí on the shore, also six miles, and to Súbára, about five days

Súbára is situated one-and-a-half mile from the sea It is a populous, busy town, and is considered one of the entrepôts of India. They fish for pearls here It is in the vicinity of Bára, a small island, on which some cocoa-nut trees and the costus grow From Súbára to Sindán is considered five days

Sindán is a mile-and-a-half from the sea. It is populous, and the people are noted for their industry and intelligence They are rich and of a warlike temper The town is large, and has an extensive commerce both in exports and imports East of Sindán there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm, kaná, and rattan grow there

Saimúr, five days from Sindán, is a large well-built town Cocoa-nut trees grow here in abundance, henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported

Five miles by sea (from Kúlam Malí) lies the island of Malí, which is large and pretty It is an elevated plateau, but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarína and Jurbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places It is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine, the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer, it bears grapes like those of the Shabúka, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf which curls over when the fruit is ripe White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen, or even before Ibn Khurdádba states that the leaves curl over the bunches to protect them from the rain, and that they return to their natural position when the rain is over—a surprising fact!

Kambáya, Súbára, Sindán, and Saimúr form part of India The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhárá his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile It pays

heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in this country.

The name (or rather the title) of Balhárá means king of kings. It is hereditary here as in other parts of the country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghána, Persia, and in the Roman empire, in respect of the hereditary descent of names. The work of 'Ubandu-llah Ibn Khurdádba contains a passage concerning this which is worth quotation—"Kings," he says, "generally bear hereditary titles,—thus those of China have been called Bághbúgh (or Bághbun) for centuries, and the title descends in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balhárá, Jába, Táfir, Hazr [Juzr] 'Ábat, Dumí [Rahmí] and Kám-rún. These names are taken only by the prince who reigns over the province or country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans, and the Khazars, the king is called Khákán, but among the Khizlj he takes the title of Khai Khúya which is hereditary. In the Ránah the kings are called Fanjab. In the Roman empire they take the title of Cæsar, which descends upon all those who wield the supreme power. Among the Aghzaz they are called Shái Shái, or king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally, among the Persians they are called Kásra [Chosroes]. Among the people who dwell in the Súdán the names of the kings are derived from their countries,—thus the ruler of Ghána is called Ghána, the king of Kaughá is called Kaughá. But enough upon this subject."

Among the towns of India comprised in the present section are Khábírún and Asáwal, both of them populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles. At the time we write, the Musulmans have made their way into the greater part of these countries and have conquered them. Please God we will hereafter describe those which are on their frontiers and some others.

EIGHTH SECTION.—The present section contains a description of part of the coast of India, comprising Baruh [Barúch], Smdápúr, Bána [Tánna], Kandarína, Jirbatán, Kalkáyán, Lúluwá, Kanya, Samandírún,—and in the interior of the country, Dúlaka, Janáwal,

Nahrwára, Kandahár, Rúmala, Kalbata and Aghushta, on the borders of the deserts, Kábul, Khawás, Hasak, Murídas, Mádiyár, Tatta, Dadah [Darh], Manibár [Malabar], Malwa, Niyásat, Atrásá, Nija, Kashmir the Lower, Madara, Kármút, Kashmir the Upper, Kanaúj, Rástána, and the islands of the Indian Sea, Mallan, Balbak, Tarwáklij, Masnaha and Samandár We shall describe all these countries without omitting anything remarkable or curious that they may afford.

Barúh [Barúch, Broach] is a large handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants are rich and engaged in trade, and they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for the vessels coming from China, as it is also for those of Sind. From hence to Saimúr is considered two days' journey, and to Nahrwára eight days through a flat country where they travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nahrwára and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and traces, and are used for the carriage of goods.

Between Barúh and Nahrwára there are two towns, one called Hanáwal (or Janáwal), the other Dúlaka. They are about equal in size, and are somewhat less than a day's journey distant from each other. Dúlaka is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands the town of Barúh, (the name of which is also pronounced Barús). Both these towns stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north, and which are called U'ndaran,<sup>1</sup> they are of a white colour approaching to yellow. The kaná grows here as well as a few cocoa nut trees. In the vicinity of Hanáwal (or Janawal) stands the town of Asáwal,<sup>2</sup> which is very much like the other two both in size and in the condition of its population. A good trade is carried on in all three.

Nahrwára is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Balhara. He has troops and elephants, he worships the idol Buddha, wears a crown of gold upon his head, and dresses in rich stuffs. He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in

<sup>1</sup> [Vindhya ?]

<sup>2</sup> "Yessáwal" is the old name of Ahmadabad Bird's Guzerat, 197

number, richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands, and their hair in curls. They engage in various games and in sham fights, while their king marches at their head. The ministers and the commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against rebels, or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings. He has numerous elephants, and these constitute the chief strength of his army. His power is hereditary, so also is his title *Balhará*, which signifies *king of kings*. The town of *Nahrwára* is frequented by large numbers of Musulman traders who go there on business. They are honourably received by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related — When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining the remission of the debt.

The inhabitants of *Nahrwára* live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, másh, fish, and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals. They have a great veneration for oxen, and by a privilege confined to the species, they inter them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, they free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return.

The people of India burn their dead and do not raise tombs for them. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two palms above the ground. On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown, and the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, being laid upon the bier, it is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered and the hair

drags upon the ground This is done that every one may see (the corpse), and a herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense,—“People! behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain Remember, he has shown you the way which you must follow” This being said, when all the ceremonies are concluded, they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions In all the countries of Hind and Sind there are Musulmans and they bury their dead secretly by night in their houses, but like the Indians they do not give way to long lamentations

In the country of the Balhará concubinage is permitted with all persons except married women Thus a man may have intercourse with his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried

Opposite the sea-port town of Barúh lies the island of Mullan, which produces pepper in large quantities, and is two days’ journey from Sindán From Sindán to Balbak is also two days Balbak produces cocoa nuts, figs, bananas, and rice It is here that vessels change their courses for the different islands of India From hence to the place called *Great Abyss* they reckon two days From the island of Balbak to that of Sarandíb is one day or more

From the town of Barúh, along the coast, to Sindábúr four days Sindábúr is situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor It is a commercial town, and contains fine buildings and rich bazars From hence to Bana [Tánna] upon the coast four days

Bána [Tánna] is a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail. In the neighbouring mountains the kaná and tabúshír grow The roots of the kaná which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west The tabushír is adulterated by mixing it with ivory cinders, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the reed called *sharkí*, as we have already said. From Bána [Tanna] to Fandarína<sup>1</sup> is four days’

<sup>1</sup> [“Kandarína” in p 86]



journey Fandarína is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar [Malabar] where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages, and flocks The cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods From Fandarína to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river, is five days It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandíb Popper grows in the neighbouring mountains From Jirbatan to Sanj and Kaikasár two days These are maritime towns near to each other, the neighbourhood produces rice and corn. From hence to Kilkayán one day From Kilkáyán to Lulu and to Kanja one day The vicinity is fertile in rice and wheat, and produces sapan wood abundantly The growth of this tree resembles that of the oloander Cocoa nut trees abound From Kanja to Samandár thirty miles

Samandar is a large town, commercial, and rich, where there are good profits to be made It is a port dependant upon Kanauj, king of this country It stands upon a river which comes from the country of Kashmír Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here Aloe wood is brought hither from the country of Kármút [Kamrúp?] 15 days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet. The aloe wood which comes from this country is of a superior quality and of a delicious perfume It grows in the mountains of Káran One day's sail from this city there is a large island well peopled and frequented by merchants of all countries It is four days distant from the island of Sarandíb To the north, at seven days' distance from Samandár, is the city of Kashmír the inner, celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of Kanauj From Kashmír to Kármút four days. From Kashmír to Kanauj about seven days This is a fine commercial city which gives its name to the king of the country It is built upon the banks of a large river which falls into the Musala.\*

Thus river Musala is called by the author of the Book of Marvels, the River of Perfumes It rises in the mountains of Káran, washes

the walls of the town of Asnánd, passes the foot of the mountain of Lúnya, then by the town of Kilkayán, and at length falls into the sea. Many aromatics are produced upon its banks, as its name indicates. Between Rasnánd and Kashmír the outer, there are four days journey. Kashmír is reckoned among the number of the most celebrated cities. Its inhabitants war with the infidel Turks, and they often suffer injury from the Khiziljí Turks. Atrása, which stands upon the banks of the Indian Ganges,<sup>1</sup> is four days journey from Kashmír the outer. It is large, well-built, well watered, and one of the strongest places of Kanaúj, the limits of which extend as far as Kabul and Laháwar. The Kanaúj is a king who has numerous armies under his command, a vast empire and a great number of elephants, no king in India has so many. His power and his wealth are great, and his armies formidable. From Atrása to Yánásat [Benares?], a large city, also on the bank of the Ganges, five days. From thence to Madiar on the Ganges seven days. This is a rich commercial town populous, and surrounded by numerous villages. From thence to Nahrwára on the west bank of the Ganges, and of which we have already spoken, seven days. From Madiar to the city of Malwa five days.

Malwa is a pleasant town, and much frequented. It is surrounded with many villages, buildings, and farms. Among the number of its dependencies are Dadh (Darh) and Tata. From Malwa to Dadh four days. From Dadh to Tata two days. Lahor is a country which joins<sup>2</sup> the latter. From Morídas to Tata three days.

Morídas, a commercial town, is a very strong place, garrisoned by the troops of Kábul. It is situated on the declivity of a very high mountain, on which grow the kana and khaizuran.

Kandahár is a city built in the mountains of which we have just spoken, eight days' journey from Morídas, and the road from one place to the other passes over the mountains. It is a considerable town, and well-peopled. The inhabitants are remarkable for the manner in which they allow their beards to grow. Their beards are large and very thick, and hang down to their knees. This has

<sup>1</sup> [حسنة الهند]

<sup>2</sup> ["Translated conjecturally, for the word is wanting"—Jaubert]

given rise to a proverbial saying They are stout in person, and wear the Turkish costume The country produces wheat, rice, various grains, sheep, and oxen. They eat sheep which have died a natural death, but not oxen, as we have already observed. From Kandahár to Nahrwára is five days' journey in carriages The people of Kandahár are often at war with those of Kábul, which is an Indian city, large and well built, bordering upon Tukháristán The mountains produce excellent aloe wood, and the neighbourhood supplies cocoa nuts and myrobolans, which grow in the hills, and of that sort which is called Kábuli, from this town. In the lowlands saffron is largely cultivated, and is the object of a large export trade It is a hazardous crop, depending upon the state of the atmosphere The city of Kandahár is defended by a very strong citadel built upon a scarped rock, and is accessible by one road only It is inhabited by Musulmáns, and there is a quarter in which the infidel Jews dwell No king can take the title of Sháh until he has been inaugurated at Kábul According to an ancient law, the assumption of power must be made in that city, hence it is resorted to from foreign and very distant countries In the fertile lands of Kábul a good deal of indigo is cultivated of the very best quality, it has a great repute, and is the object of a great trade Cotton cloths are also made here, and are exported to China, Khurásán, and Sind There are some well-known iron mines in the mountains of Kábul The metal is of a grey colour, and vemed—it becomes very sharp

Arzalán, Khawás, and Khubar are dependencies of Kábul, with divers villages and fortified places From Kábul to Khawás four days From Khawás to Hasak five days From Hasak to Kábul, through a tolerably level country, three days From Kábul to Kalbata four days Kalbata and Rumala are on the borders of the desert which separates Multán from Siyistán They are both towns of middling size, inhabited by Sindians, Indians, and a few natives of Siyistán They produce wheat, rice, and fruits in small quantities The drinking water is obtained from fountains and wells Cotton cloths are made here, and sold in the country round At the east of Multán is the town of Aughasht, four days' journey from Kandahar, and the same from Multán A small quantity of

kaná grows in the environs The inhabitants are few but rich  
 From Aughasht to Rúmala ten days From Rúmala to Kalbata  
 three days From Aughasht to Sandúr three days

This is the sum of what we had to say about the country comprised in the present Section As to the maritime portion, what we have already said about the islands seems sufficient. Nevertheless, it is well to know that, starting from the island of Sarandíb, of which we have spoken under the first climate, with the intention of gaining the continent by the shortest course, Jirbatán<sup>1</sup> is the place to land at, for this is but little more than half a day's sail If it is necessary to go towards the east, the landing must be made at Kaikasár, or at the foot of the mountain of Umri, which is very high, stretches towards the north, and forms a large reef in the sea From this reef to Sarandíb is about four days All this well-known mountain is covered with sapan wood, which is exported The root of the sapan quickly soothes the pain caused by the bite of serpents.

<sup>1</sup> [This name is written "Jirbatán," and "Jirbatan" previously ]

## IX

## ĀSĀRU-L BILĀD

OF

## ZAKARĪYA AL KAZWĪNĪ

Zakarīya son of Muhammad son of Mahmūd is surnamed Kazwīnī, from the town of Kazwīn or Kasbīn in Persia, where he was born. He was not a traveller, but compiled his works from the writings of Istakhrī, Ibn Haukal, and others, whom he regularly cites as his authorities. His works were written just after the middle of the thirteenth century, about 661 A.H (1263 A.D.) according to Casiri, or 674 (1275 A.D.) according to Hajj Khalfa. He has been called the Pliny of the East. He was author of the work called *'Ajaibu-l Makhlūkāt wa Gharāibu-l Maṣnūdat*, "Wonders of things created, and marvels of things existing," also of the *Āsāru-l Bilād wa Akhbāru-l 'Ibād*, "Monuments of countries, and memoirs of men." A few extracts have been taken from the last work, containing matter derived from other sources than the books previously quoted.

M. Renaud, in his introduction to Aboulfeda, ascribes to Kazwīnī the authorship of the work called *'Ajaibu-l buldān*, "Wonders of Countries." He found the contents of this work to be in the main identical with those of the *Āsāru-l bilād*, but containing more biographical notices. This opinion is confirmed by a short Persian account of a work called "*Bahru-l buldān*," which is among Sir H. Elliot's MSS., and seems to have been written expressly for him. There is no copy of the work itself among the MSS.,

though Sir H Elliot must once have had one in his possession. The notice says, "The Bahru-l buldân is not a distinct work, but is a Persian translation of the *Āsāru-l Bilād wa Akhbāru-l 'Ibād*, well known in the world by the name '*Ajaibu-l buldân*, written in Arabic by Zakariya bin Muhammad Kazwini." It is curious, however, that the '*Ajaibu-l buldân*' is frequently quoted by Kazwini in the *Āsāru-l bilad*, as being the work of Mis'ar bin Mubalhil,—a traveller who went to China and India about 331 A H (942 A D). Several instances of this will be found in the following extracts. It is hard to believe that Kazwini thus quoted his own work, or that he would refer the authorship of his own book to another person. If then, Kazwini is really the author of a work called '*Ajaibu-l buldân*, it is only reasonable to conclude that he adopted the title of his predecessor's work. Mis'ar bin Mubalhil is quoted by Yāqūt in his great Dictionary, and the fragments which he and Kazwini preserved have been selected and published with a Latin translation by M. Kurd de Schläezer.<sup>2</sup> There is another Persian translation of the *Āsāru-l bilād* among Sir H Elliot's MSS., bearing the title "*Sāru-l bilād*." This MS. is called an "abstract," and was copied, and perhaps "abstracted," expressly for Sir H Elliot, from a copy in the possession of Mr J. Bardoe Elliott. The articles relating to India are given in full, but the others are greatly abbreviated. This work is said to be very scarce.

#### EXTRACTS

KŪLAM —A large city in India. Mis'ar bin Mubalhil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China. There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from

<sup>1</sup> The title is a favourite one. Mas'udi cites the work of Al Jahiz, "*Kitābu-l amsār wa 'Ajaibu-l buldān*" (Book ix) *ante* page 21.

<sup>2</sup> Reinaud *Aboulfeda*, cxxliii. *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 23.

the backs of fishes The inhabitants do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion They manufacture clay vessels, which are sold in our cities like those of China, but they are not the same, because the clay of China is harder than that of Kulam, and bears the fire better The vessels of Kulam are blackish, but those of China are whiter than all others There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even a hundred cubits Brazil wood, ratans, and kaná also grow here in abundance Rhubarb grows here, the leaves of which are the Súzaj-i Hindí, Indian leaf, and are held in high esteem as a medicine for the eyes They bring here various sorts of aloo wood, camphor, and frankincense Aloo wood is also brought hither from the islands beyond the equator, where no one has ever gone and seen the tree Water comes into it from the north. There is a mine of yellow sulphur here, and a mine of copper, the condensed smoke of which makes excellent vitriol

MULTÁN — [*Kazwíní quotes Istakhrí at some length, but gives additional particulars from other writers*] Mis'ar bin Muhalhil says that it is the last city of India bordering on China<sup>1</sup> It is a large fortified and impregnable city, and is held in high esteem by the Hindus and Chinese, for it contains a temple which is for them a place of worship and pilgrimage, as Mecca is for the Muham-madans The inhabitants are Musulmans and infidels, but the government is in the hands of the former The infidels have a large temple there and a great idol (budd) The chief mosque is near this temple Islám prevails there, and its orders and interdicts are obeyed All this is related by Mis'ar bin Muhalhil \* \* \* The same author says that the summit of the temple is 300 cubits [zará'] and the height of the idol is 20 cubits The houses of the servants and devotees are around the temple, and there are no idol worshippers in Multán besides those who dwell in these precincts [kasr] \* \* \* The ruler of Multán does not abolish this idol, because he takes the large offerings which are brought to it, and disburses certain sums

<sup>1</sup> [The translator in the *Sairu-l bilád* very rarely departs from his text, but he observes in this article that a good deal has been written in many books about Multán which is not accurate, and that Multán is not near China, unless there be some other than the well-known town of that name]

to the attendants for their maintenance. When the Indians make an attack upon the town, the Musulmáns bring out the idol, and when the infidels see it (about to be) broken or burnt, they retire. Ibnu-l Fakih says that an Indian came to this idol, and placed upon his head a crown of cotton, daubed with pitch, he did the same with his fingers, and having set fire to it he staid before the idol until it was burnt.

**SAMÚR**—A city of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musulmáns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called Samúrí are named from this place. The temple of Samúr is an idol temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and bajádak,<sup>1</sup> which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and Fire temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs, but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Mis'ar bin Muhalhíl, author of the 'Ajáibu-l buldán, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders.

**SOMNÁT**.—A celebrated city of India, situated on the shore of the sea, and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnát. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musulman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and

[A stone like a ruby]



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flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offerings, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is held sacred, between which and Somnât the distance is 200 parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnât every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 mans. When a portion (watch) of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of brahmans to perform worship. When the Sultân Yâminn-d Daula Mahmûd bin Subuktigîn went to wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnât, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Muhammadans. He arrived there in the middle of Zi-l k'ada, 416 A.H. (December, 1025 A.D.) The Indians made a desperate resistance. They would go weeping and crying for help into the temple, and then issue forth to battle and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000. The king looked upon the idol with wonder, and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil, and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver and vessels set with jewels, all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand thousand dinârs<sup>1</sup>. When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol, and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the atten-

<sup>1</sup> [The words as given in Wustenfeld's edition are *أكثر من عشرين ألف دينار*, as translated in the *Sairu-l Bilâd* *ريادة بريست هراو هراو*, and Gildemeister's Latin version has "*vices millena millia*". The enormous treasures found at Somnât have been a theme of wonder for all who have written on that conquest.]

dants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of loadstone, and the idol of iron, and that the ingenious builder had skilfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side—hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some coincided, others differed. Permission was obtained from the Sultán to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away it inclined still further, until at last it rested on the ground.

TAIFAND —An impregnable fortress upon the summit of a mountain in India, to which there is only one way of access. On the top of this mountain there is water, cultivated land, and all necessary food. Yáminu-d daula Mahmud bin Subuktigin in the year 414 A H (1023 A D ) besieged it for a long time, but at length reduced its garrison to extremities. There were 500 elephants on the mountain. The garrison asked quarter, and it was granted, and the fortress was confirmed to its master on payment of tribute. The lord of the fortress presented many gifts to the Sultán, among which was a bird in the form of a dove. When food containing poison was presented to this bird, tears would fall from its eyes, and the tear drops were converted into stone, which stone being broken and placed upon a wound, it would heal up. This bird is found only in this place, and does not thrive elsewhere.

## HISTORIANS OF SIND.

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### I.

#### MUJMALU-T TAWĀ'RIKH

[A PORTION of this most interesting unique work was published by M. Reinaud, in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*, from the MS. numbered 62 in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. The MS. has been described in the *Journal Asiatique* at different times, by M. Quatremère and M. Mohl, and it had been previously drawn upon by Anquetil Duperron and Silvestre de Sacy.]

[The chapter published by M. Reinaud, with which we are here concerned, was not written by the author of the *Mujmal* himself, but was borrowed by him from an older work, of which he thus speaks,—“I have seen an ancient book of the Hindus which Abú Sâlih bin Shu'aib bin Jâmi' translated into Arabic from the Hindwâni language (Sanskrit). This work was translated into Persian in 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) by Abu-l Hasan 'Alî bin Muhammad al Jîlî,<sup>1</sup> keeper of the library at Jurjân for a chief of the Dîlamites. The book I saw was in the handwriting of the author, and bore the date above given. It is the

<sup>1</sup> [Reinaud's printed text had “al Jabaltî,” but Quatremère, corrected it to “al Jîlî,” (*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851), that is native of Jîlân or Gîlân, S.W., of the Caspian. Jûrjân is to the east of the same sea.]

custom of the Hindu writers on philosophy to put speeches into the mouths of beasts and birds, as in the book *Kahla wa Dimna*, and accordingly many such speeches are introduced into this book I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the kings and a short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else—but God knows ”]

[The date of the original Arabic translation does not appear, it may or may not have been written before the work of Biládurí, but the “extracts” relate to an ancient period, and more especially to Sind, so that they come in most appropriately here at the beginning of the historical writings The date of the Persian translation, and still more that of the *Mujmal*, would carry them onward to a later and less suitable position ]

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanskrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the *Raja Taranginí*, and probably to the *Mahá-bhárata*, and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade If so, it would go far to show that the *Mahá-bhárata* is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the *Iliad*, a collection of older poems already current, for there are many passages in *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the *Mahá-bhárata* Indeed, it might be said that the *Mahá-bhárata* was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers

The learned Editor also thinks he has discovered in this extract indications of the Bráhmancial influence being established over the Kshatriyas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pándavas and Kauravas The inference, however, rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable, indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, “God only knows the truth !”

The author of the “*Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*,” says that his

father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmekides from their origin to their extinction. M. Quatremère and M. Mohl say that his name is unknown, and give his pedigree as grandson of Muhallib bin Muhammad bin Shádí. He was a traveller, for he tells us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A H 520 (A D 1126), during the reign of Sanjar, son of Malik Sháh, Sultán of the Saljukís, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A H 589 (A D 1193).

His work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Hjrí. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his researches is the history of Persia, on which subject he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The Persian translation, which he quotes from Abul Hasan, is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style, and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own composition, in the portions which are original.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabarí, the Sháh-náma, Garhasp-náma, Farámarz-náma, Bahman-náma, Kush-píl-dandan, Abu-l Muayyid Balkhí, Hamza Isfahání, and some others. He says that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses, that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse, that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

“The transactions of the kings of Persia,” he continues, “are

the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zinj, Arabia, Greece, and Turkistán are not to be compared to Irán, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north, or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries ”

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M M Saut Martin and J Mohl to publish the *Mojmal* with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rum, Arabs, Sámánides, Buwáhides, Ghazmídes, Saljúkians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindú kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammad, and the Khahfs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammadan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios <sup>1</sup>

#### EXTRACTS

**HISTORY OF THE JATS AND MEDS** —As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Asiatique*, trois sér Tom. VII pp 246-286 Tom XI p 178, 268-301, 320-361 *Le Livre des Rois*, Tom I pp 1-lx Anquetin's *Zendavesta*, Tom II pp 352, et seq. Reinaud's *Mém sur l'Inde*, mere, in *Jour des Savants*, Jan 1851



The Jats and Meds<sup>1</sup> are, it is said, descendants of Ham. They dwelt in Sind and (on the banks of) the river which is called Bahar. By the Arabs the Hindús are called Jats. The Meds held the ascendancy over the Jats, and put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they used to cross the river and make attacks on the Meds, who were owners of sheep. It so came to pass that the Jats enfeebled the Meds, killed many of them, and plundered their country. The Meds then became subject to the Jats.

One of the Jat chiefs (seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced) made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant, that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same with the Meds. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajushan [Duryodhana], son of Dahrát [Dhritarashtra], and beg of him to appoint a king, to whose authority both tribes might submit. The result of this was satisfactory, and his proposition was adopted. After some discussion they agreed to act upon it, and the emperor Dajúshan nominated his sister Dassal [Dahsalá], wife of king Jandrat [Jayadratha], a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work. But for all its greatness, and riches and dignity, there was no brahman or wise man in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 brahmans from all Hindústan, and sent them, with all their goods and dependents, to his sister. There are several discussions and stories about these brahmans in the original work.

A long time passed before Sind became flourishing. The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders, and mentions the foundation of cities. The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland.<sup>2</sup> A small portion of the

<sup>1</sup> [See note in Appendix on "the Meds"]

<sup>2</sup> This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others. See note in Appendix.

country she made over to the Jats, and appointed one of them as their chief, his name was Júdrat. Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds. This government continued for twenty and some<sup>1</sup> years, after which the Bhárats lost possession of the country



ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE PÁNDAVAS AND HISTORY OF BRAHMÍN<sup>2</sup>—Injustice was the cause of the fall of the dynasty of the Pandavas. Fortune had grown indifferent towards them, and they ended by becoming tyrants. One day they carried off the cow of a brahman, and were about to kill him, when the brahman warned them, and said, "I have read in books that the prosperity of the Pandavas will fall when they shall kill a brahman for the sake of a cow—do not kill me." They did not heed him, but killed both him and the cow. That brahman had a son named Brahmín, a strong and tall man, who dwelt upon a mountain. When he heard of this nefarious business he arose, and said to himself, I will go and take away the sovereignty from the Pándavas, for they have killed a cow, (and) a brahman. The words of the sages cannot prove false, so the time of the fall of their dominion is come. Men laughed at him, but a party assembled round him. He took a city, and his power increased day by day, until he had a large army, and he went on capturing cities until at length he reached the city of Hatná,<sup>3</sup> which was the capital. Kuyáhúrat marched out to the battle, but was slain, and Brahmín assumed the sovereignty. Wherever he found any one of the race of the Pándavas he slew him. But a few escaped, who concealed their extraction, and employed themselves as butchers and bakers, or in similar crafts. Brahmín acquired the whole of Hindústán. They say that a daughter of Bol [Nakula], son of Pandu, went to him, and gave him such counsels as induced him to desist from slaying the Pándavas. But he put them all in prison until a large number was collected, when as a condition of

<sup>1</sup> [“نیست و اند سال”] An *and* is a period of 15,000 years, or any number between three and ten.]

<sup>2</sup> [This history is explained by the legend of Parasuráma, son of Jamadagni, called here Brahmín. Kuyáhúrat is Kártavírya, Fásaf, Kasyapa, Sunágh, the Muni Sunaka; and the cow, Kámadhenu.—*Reinaud*]

<sup>3</sup> [Hastinapur]

their deliverance<sup>1</sup> he made them follow certain trades, so that no one would give their daughters to them, or take theirs, or associate with them. He proclaimed this throughout his dominions. Their position was lowered to such a degree, that they took to the occupation of musicians. It is said that the Hindu lute players belong to this family, but God knows.

**HISTORY OF SUNÁGH**—They say that Brahmin felt remorse for the slaughter of so many persons, and said, I substitute worship on the summit of a mountain for the slaughter of men. One day a brahman named Fásaf [Kasyapa] came to him and admonished him. Brahmin said, It is even so, I myself repent, and I will now give this kingdom to thee. Fásaf said, It is no business of mine, but Brahmin replied, Do thou receive it from me, and appoint some one over it by thy own authority. There was a servant named Sunagh, and him Fásaf seated on the throne. Brahmin then returned to the scene of his devotions. Sunagh practised justice and equity, and pursued a worthy course. The sovereignty remained in his family until fifteen kings had sat upon the throne. Then they became tyrants, and the sovereignty departed from them. This was in the reign of Gustásf, king of Persia. It is said that in the life-time of this Gustásf, Bahman led an army to Hindústán and took a portion of it, as to the other parts every one (that could) seized a corner. No one of the family (of Sunagh) retained any power. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindús and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandábl, and in another place, which they call Budha, he founded a city which he called Bahman-ábád. According to one account this is Mansúra, but God knows. At this time he returned to Persia, when he received the news of the death of Gustásf, and assumed the crown. This account I found in this book, but I have not read it elsewhere. The mother of Bahman is said to have been of Turk extraction, but God knows.

**HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KASHMÍR AND HÁL**—It is said that Hál was the descendant of Sanjwára, son of Jandrat and of the

<sup>1</sup> [I have generally followed M. Quatremère in his ingenious and critical emendations of the version published by Reinaud, but it hardly seems necessary to change the verb *jastan* to *zistan*, as he proposed in this passage. His version is "Il leur assigna, pour vivre, différents métiers"—*Jour des Sav*, Jan 1851.]

daughter of King Dahrát He inherited in Hindústán the dominion which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal and their descendants He became a very important personage, and built a fine capital and several cities. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron<sup>1</sup>

It happened that the wife of the king of Kashmír bought some of that cloth, and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hál's foot.<sup>2</sup> On hearing this the king of Kashmír swore he would go and cut off the foot of king Hál His Wazír observed,—“that place is the land of the brahmans, you will gain no victory there” The king of Kashmír did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army When Hál heard of the king of Kashmír's intentions, he was alarmed, he sent information to the bráhmans and told them the king of Kashmír's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way The bráhmans offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle-field Hál did so, and when the king of Kashmír's soldiers advanced under their commander-in-chief, flames burst from the elephant and burnt many of them

The king of Kashmír was then compelled to sue for peace, (at the conclusion of which,) Hal sent many presents to him. And the king of Kashmír, in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by the river<sup>3</sup> He was advised

<sup>1</sup> Vigne's *Kashmir*, I 134

<sup>2</sup> This is the same legend as that of Mihurakula in the Rája Taranginí (II 32), and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. See Sprenger's *Mas'udí*, p 318 Edwardes's *Panyab*, I 394 Renaud's *Mem* 62 *Ind. Alterth* II 853

<sup>3</sup> Todd, II 239, 264 Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, 61 [The word translated “river” is *darya*, which Quatremere says ought to be read “sea” ]

not to proceed by water on account of its turbulence. In compliance with this advice he travelled along the bank (*sāhul*) until he reached a stage some parasangs distant from the country of Kashmīr, when the waters subsided<sup>1</sup>. In that place he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindī is called Savandar<sup>2</sup> (*Samudra*). Hence that place was called Sāvandī, and it exists to this day. He also built temples and superb cities in many places. At length, intelligence of an enemy came to him from Kashmīr, he then returned to his country, and suppressed his foes. The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindūs were obedient to them. In the country of Sind there were three kings, until at length the territory of the Hindūs came under the authority of King Kafand, after he had by his valour subdued them. A brāhman had blessed him and said that the whole sovereignty should devolve upon him.

**HISTORY OF KING KAFAND**<sup>3</sup>—This Kafand was not a Hindū, but through his kindly disposition and equity all became obedient to him. He made fine speeches and praised the Hindūs and their country. He raised their hopes by his virtues, and realised them by his deeds. He was cotemporary<sup>4</sup> with Alexander the Greek. He had visions, of which he asked the interpretation from a brahman, and he sought peace from Alexander, to whom he sent his daughter, a skilful physician, a philosopher, and a glass vase<sup>5</sup>. In the *Shah-nāma* he is called Kaīd the Hindū. This story will also be related

meanings, and the latter view is supported by the use of the word *adhīl*, coast, but it is difficult to conceive that the author supposed it possible to return to Kashmīr by sea.]

<sup>1</sup> [Sir H. Elliot introduced some slight emendations into the text of this passage, which seem preferable to the words printed by Reinaud, and have been followed in the translation. The original words are بر ساحل پیامد هرمرلی  
آب کمتر گشت چند فرسگت ار عرص و ملک کشمیر آسجایگاه  
[هرمرلی که آب کمتر گشت] Elliot reads عمارتها کرد و دیبها]

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be an allusion to the Sumundur, mentioned in the 'Ajāibu-l-Makhlūkat, fol 197, v. Mihrān [See Bilādūrī and Chach-nāma, *post*]

<sup>3</sup> [See Thomas in *Jour. R.A.S.*, 1865 Vol I p 453]

<sup>4</sup> [Quatremère's emendation of نعد for نعد is essential]

<sup>5</sup> [See Masudi Chap xxvi]

in the life of Alexander When the information of the brahman reached the Hindús,<sup>1</sup> Kafand sent a person to Sámíd, his brother, directing him to go to Mansúra with the brahman, and expel Mahra<sup>2</sup> the Persian from those places which Bahman had conquered, and to erect idol temples in place of fire-temples Sámíd called (to his assistance) Hal, king of Hindúsián, and they marched against Mahra the Persian, and warred with him until he fled into the city For three years Mahra remained in the fortress, but when no prospect of success was left he ordered a tunnel to be dug, and they carried this (subterraneous passage) to a place called Kiyátasa He then ordered posts to be fixed in the ground on the top of the fortress, and arms and helmets to be placed upon them, so that they looked like sentries He then retired with the whole of his force through the tunnel, and marched towards the Turks, whose king gave him refuge After some days crows perched upon the helmets, and the soldiers of Sámíd perceiving this the truth was made known The gates were then opened, and the people of the city described the departure of Mahra the Persian So after the lapse of some years Sámíd returned victorious to his own country Alexander came to India after this transaction

After Kafand had departed his son Ayand ascended the throne, and he divided the country of Sind into four parts One king he established at 'Askalandúsa<sup>3</sup> Upon another he bestowed the country of Zer to which Anj [Uch?] is attached Three other countries of the kingdom of Sámíd [Sámíd] he bestowed upon another<sup>4</sup> Fourthly,

<sup>1</sup> چوں خبر برهمن بهمدواں رسید Should not brahman be read Bahman? "When intelligence of (the conquests of) Bahman reached the Hindús"]

<sup>2</sup> [According to the Sháh-núma the name of the bráhman, who interpreted Kand's dream, was "Máhran"—Remaud]

<sup>3</sup> ملكي را بعقلندوسه بشاد I have followed Remaud in reading "Askalandúsa," but the name is generally accepted as "Askaland," or "Askalandra," and the termination *usa* has not been found elsewhere May not the passage be read, "He established one king at 'Askaland and Sah?" or may not even the last word signify "and three" (dependencies)]

<sup>4</sup> [The whole of this passage is ambiguous The word سدیگرو لایت, which is here rendered "three other countries," is rendered as "un troisième principaute" by Remaud.]

he consigned the countries of Hindústán, Nadama, and Lohana separately upon another. This was after the time of Hál<sup>1</sup>. When the life of Ayand reached its limit, his son Rasal became king. He reigned for some time, until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. Rásal (then) went southwards, and established himself there. He had two sons, one named Rawwál, and the younger Barkamárís.

**HISTORY OF RAWWÁL AND BARKAMÁRÍS** — When Rásal died his eldest son Rawwal assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of the four climes.<sup>2</sup> All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamárís, who was very handsome. When Barkamárís brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamárís said to himself "The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom." So he gave himself up to study, and associated with the learned and the brahmans, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

When the rebel who had expelled their father (Rásal) heard the story of the damsel, he said "Can they who do such things occupy such a position?" So he led an army and put Rawwál to flight. Rawwál with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwál then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said— "Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers,—then I will withdraw." Rawwál was dejected, but he had a wazír, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of

<sup>1</sup> [See the account of the division of Sind into four kingdoms as described in the first chapter of the Chach-náma, *post*]

<sup>2</sup> [The four quarters of the world]

children and wife, and riches. They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamâris came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father, if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should stake my life for the king. Let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed, then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwâl was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwâl's power increased.

[*The Wazir excites the king's suspicions against Barkamâris, who feigns madness*]

One day in the hot season, Barkamâris was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hindrance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne suoking sugar cane. When Rawwâl saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamâris, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and craftily watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprung upon him, and put his knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he



and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazir and the people, and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the king, took back the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazir and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor is it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother." Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have now resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamâris told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the book, which is called "*Adabu-l Mulûk*," "Instruction of Kings." I have<sup>1</sup> transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamâris and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamâris and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamâris. I have related all the facts just as I found them.

<sup>1</sup> [Quatremère reasonably proposes to insert a negative here.]

## II

## FUTU'HU-L BULDÁN

OF

AHMAD IBN YAHYA IBN JÁBIR

AL BILÁ'DURÍ

THIS work is in the Leyden University Library, and has been described by Hamaker, at pp 7 and 239 of his "*Specimen Catalogi, Codd MSS Orientalium*," An abstract of it is given in an appendix contained in the third volume of Dr Gustave Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, and the entire chapter on the conquest of Sind, has been edited by M Renaud in the *Journal Asiatique* for February 1845, reprinted with additional notes in his valuable "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*" [There is also a copy in the British Museum] The complete text has lately been admirably printed at Leyden, under the editorship of M de Goeje ]

The author is Ahmad bin Yahya, bin Jábir, surnamed also Abú Ja'far and Abú-l Hasan, but more usually known as Biládurí, who lived towards the middle of the ninth century of our era, at the court of the Khalif Al Mutawakkal, where he was engaged as instructor to one of the princes of his family He died A H. 279, A D 892-3 This is according to Renaud's statement—Pascual de Gayangos while he gives the same year of his death, on the authority of Abú-l Mahásin, says he lived at Baghdád in the Khalifat of Al-Mu'tamad He left a large as well as a small edition of the Futúhu-l Buldán

This work contains as its name implies, an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arabic chronicles, for Tabarí, though he wrote at Baghdád, and did not compose his work till afterwards, was evidently not acquainted with this author, since he omits much that Biládurí has mentioned. It brings down the history of events to the close of the reign of Mu'tasim, A H 227, A D 842. Wákidí, who is quoted by Biládurí, also wrote a book of "Conquests," and amongst them a "Conquest of Sind," which Dr Sprenger mentions that he has seen quoted by Nuwairí at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futúh* are very common, and much passes under his name which was never written by him, as in the instance of the work translated by Ockley, but his *Futúhu-s Sind* is rare. Nuwairí mentions also another author of Indian history, folio 795,—Al Husain bin Yazíd us Siráfí. We find also other authors on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.

Biládurí does not himself appear to have visited Sind, but quotes the authors on whom he relied for information. Thus we have mention of Abú-l Hassan 'Alí bin Muhammad Al Madáíní, with whom he had verbal communication. This author, who died A H 840 (1436 A D), at the advanced age of ninety-three, composed, amongst other works, Al Mughází wau-s Sıyár, "Wars and Marches," which contained a detailed account of the expeditions of the Musulmáns in Khurásán and on the Indus. Mansúr bin Hátım is also mentioned as an author on Sindian History, with whom, as well as with Al Madáíní, Biládurí had held personal intercourse. Another author quoted by Biládurí is Ibnu-l Kalbí.

Besides the *Futúhu-l buldan*, our author wrote another work on cosmography, with a description of the inhabited earth entitled *Kutábu-l buldán*, the "Book of Countries," which is in the Library of the British Museum (*Bibl Rich* No 7496). He

also wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes, the title of which is not known, and he translated several works from the Persian. He also has the credit of being a good poet. He is cited frequently by Ibn Haukal, Al-Mas'ûdî, and other ancient geographers, but his history is rarely quoted. Kudâma, who wrote at Baghdâd, towards the end of the ninth century, gives an extract from it, and Ibn Asîr also quotes it under the years 89 and 95 H.

He was called Biladuri or Bilâzuri, from his addiction to the use of an intoxicating electuary made from the Balûzar or Malacca bean, which, from its resemblance in shape and colour to a heart, is called *ma'cardum*.<sup>1</sup> [The name is written optionally with either *z* or *z*. Goeje transcribes the name as "Belâd-sori." The author, however, is better known as Bilâduri or Beladuri, and that form has therefore been retained. The Leyden MS. like other old MSS., prefers the *z* to the *z*, even when the latter is manifestly correct—thus it gives *Brahmanâbâr* for *Brahmanâbâ l*, and *Rûzbâr* for *Rûdbâr*.]

#### EXTRACTS

##### *Conquests of Sind*

'Alî, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Abdu llah son of Abû Saïf, has related that the Khalîf 'Umar, son of Al Khattâb appointed 'Usman, son of Abul 'Asî of the tribe of Salîf to Bahraun and Uman in the year 15 H (636 A.D.). Usman sent his brother Hakam to Bahraun, and he himself went to 'Uman, and despatched an army to Tânn. When the army returned he wrote to the Khalîf 'Umar to inform

him of it. 'Umar wrote in reply—"O brother of Sakif, thou has placed the worm in the wood, but I swear by God, that if our men had been killed I would have taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe" Hakam despatched a force to Barauz [Broach], he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughira, who met and defeated the enemy

When 'Usmán, son of 'Akkán became Khalif, he appointed 'Abdu-llah son of 'Amar, son of Kuraiz, to (the government of) 'Irák, and wrote to him an order to send a person to the confines of Hind in order to acquire knowledge and bring back information. He accordingly deputed Hakim, son of Jaballa al 'Abdī. When this man returned he was sent on to the Khalif, who questioned him about the state of those regions. He replied that he knew them because he had examined them. The Khalif then told him to describe them. He said "Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold, if few troops are sent there they will be slain, if many, they will starve" 'Usmán asked him whether he spoke accurately or hyperbolically [*Lit.* in rhyme]. He said that he spoke according to his knowledge. The Khalif abstained from sending any expedition there.

At the end of the year 38, or the beginning of the year 39 H (659 A D) in the Khalifat of 'Alī son of Abū Sālib, Haras the son of Marra-l 'Abdī went with the sanction of the Khalif to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He was victorious, got plunder, made captives, and distributed in one day a thousand heads. He and those who were with him, saving a few, were slain in the land of Kikán<sup>1</sup> in the year 42 H (662 A D). Kikán is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurasán.

In the year 44 H. (664 A D), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'áwiya, Muhallab son of Abū Safrā made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as Banna and Alahwār,<sup>2</sup> which lie between Multán and Kábul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers. In the land of Kikán, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turkī horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses. They fought well but were all slain. Muhallab said, "How much more

<sup>1</sup> [قیقان]

<sup>2</sup> [Lahore]

active than wo those barbarians were" So he docked the tails of his horses, and was the first among the Musulmans who did so

In the reign of Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufian, the Amír 'Abdu-llah, son of 'Amir, or according to some, Mu'áwiya himself sent 'Abdu-llah, son of Surr al 'Abdi, to the frontier of Hind. He fought in Kikan and captured booty. Then he came to Mu'áwiya and presented to him some Kikán horses. He staid near the Khahf some time and then returned to Kikán, when the Turks called their forces together and slew him

°   °   °   °   °   °   °

In the reign of the same Mu'áwiya, the Chief Ziyád, son of Abu Sufian, appointed Sinán, son of Salama, son of al Muhabbik the Huzaili (to the command). He was a good and godly man, and was the first who made his troops take an oath of divorce. He proceeded to the frontier and having subdued Makrán and its cities by force, he staid there and established his power in the country. According to Ibn al Kalbí, it was Hakím bin Jabala al 'Abdi who conquered Makrán.

Ziyád then appointed Ráshid son of 'Umrú-l Judaidí of the tribe of Azd, to the frontier. He proceeded to Makrán and was victorious in warring against Kikán, but he was slain fighting against the Meds. Sinan, son of Salama, then succeeded to the command and was confirmed therein by Ziyád. He remained there two years.

'Abbád, son of Ziyád, then made war on the frontier of Hind by way of Sijistán. He went to Sanárúz, from whence he proceeded by way of Kház to Ruzbár<sup>1</sup> in Sijistán on the banks of the Hind-mand. Then he descended to Kish, and crossing the desert came to Kandahár<sup>2</sup>. He fought the inhabitants, routed them, put them to flight and subdued the country, but many Musulmáns perished. 'Abbád observed the high caps of the people of that country, and had some made like them, which he called 'Abbádiya.

Ziyád next appointed Al Manzar, son of Al Jarúd al 'Abdi, to the frontiers of India. He was known by the name of Abú-l Ash'as. He attacked and conquered Nukán<sup>3</sup> and Kikán. The Musulmáns

<sup>1</sup> [Rudbár on the Helmand.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Kunduhár" in the text.]

<sup>3</sup> [The original has simply بوقان.]

obtained great plunder, and their forces spread over all the country. He captured Kúsdár and took prisoners there. Sinan had previously taken it, but its inhabitants had been guilty of defection. He died there (in Kúsdár).

The governor 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Ziyád, then appointed Ibn Harri al Báhalí. God, by his hands, subdued these countries, for he waged fierce war in them and conquered and plundered them. Some writers say that it was Sinán, son of Salama, who was appointed to the (chief) command by 'Ubaidu-llah and that Harri led the forces.

The people of Núkán are now Muhammadans. 'Amrán, son of Músa, son of Yahya, son of Kháhd the Barmakido, built a city there in the Khalifat of M'utasim bi-llah which he called Al Baizá (the white). When al Hajjáj, son of Yusuf, son of al Hakím, son of Abu 'Akail al Sakfí, was governor of Irak, Sa'id, son of Aslam, son of Zura'a al Kalabí was appointed to Makrán and its frontiers. He was opposed and slain there by Mu'áwriya and Muhammad, sons of al Haras al 'Aláfi.

Hajjáj then appointed Mujjá', son of S'ir al Tamímí to the frontier. He made war upon, plundered and defeated the tribes about Kandábil, and this conquest was subsequently completed by Muhammad, son of al Kásim. Mujjá' died in Makran after being there a year.

After the death of Mujjá', Hajjáj appointed in his place Muhammad, son of Harún, son of Zará' al Namarí. Under the government of Muhammad, the king of the Isle of Rubies<sup>1</sup> sent as a present to Hajjáj, certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there. The king hoped by this measure to ingratiate himself with Hajjáj, but the ship in which he had embarked these girls was attacked and taken by some barks (*bawáry*) belonging to the Meds of Debal. One of the women of the tribe of Yarbú' exclaimed, "Oh Hajjáj!" When this news reached Hajjáj, he replied, "I am here!" He

<sup>1</sup> [Ceylon]

<sup>2</sup> Mir Mas'um differs from the *Futuhu-l biláddin* and the *Chach-nama* and *Firishta*. He says that the Khalif 'Abdu-l malik sent some people to buy female slaves and other things of Hindustán, and were joined on the road by some Syrian merchants. Having completed their purchases, they were preparing to return by the sea route, when they were assailed by robbers at Debal, plundered, and slain, with the exception of a few who escaped to tell the Khalif of the outrage — *Tarikh-i Sind*, p. 6

then sent an ambassador to Dálun to demand their release, but Dálun replied, "They are pirates who have captured these women, and over them I have no authority" Then Haggáj sent 'Ubadu-llah, son of Nabhlán, against Debal 'Ubadu-llah being killed, Haggáj wrote to Budail, son of Tahfa, of the tribe of Bajalí, who was at 'Umán, directing him to proceed to Debal When he arrived there his horse took fright (and threw him), and the enemy surrounded him and killed him Some authors say he was killed by the Jats of Budha

The Isle of Rubies is so denominated because of the beauty of the women

Afterwards, Haggáj, during the Khulafat of Walíd, son of 'Abdu-l malik, appointed Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad, son of Hakim, son of Abú 'Ukail to command on the Sindian frontier Muhammad was in Fars when the order arrived, and had previously received instructions to go to Rai<sup>1</sup> Abú-l Aswad Jahm, son of Zahru-l Ju'fi, was at the head of the advanced guard, and he was ordered to return to Muhammad, and he joined him on the borders of Sind Haggáj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needles He had leave to remain at Shíráz until all the men who were to accompany him had assembled, and all the preparations had been duly made Haggáj had some dressed cotton saturated with strong vinegar, and then dried it in the shade, and said, "When you arrive in Sind, if you find the vinegar scarce, soak the cotton in water, and with the water you can cook your food and season your dishes as you wish" Some authors say, that when Muhammad arrived on the frontiers, he wrote to complain of the scarcity of vinegar, and this was the reason which induced Haggáj to send cotton soaked in vinegar

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim went to Makrán, and remained there some time He then went to Kannazbúr and took it, and then to Armáil, which he also took. Muhammad, son of Hárún, son of Zará', went to meet him, and joined him, but he died near Armáil at Kásim's side, and was buried at Kambal<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [South of the Caspian sea ]

<sup>2</sup> [Kambali (?) كمل.]



*Conquest of Debal*

Muhammad, son of Kásim, left Armáíl, accompanied by Jahm, the son of Zahru-l Ju'fí, and arrived at Debal on Friday, where ships brought to him a supply of men, arms, and warlike machines. He dug an entrenchment which he defended with spearmen, and unfurled his standards, each body of warriors was arrayed under its own banner, and he fixed the manjaník which was called "the bride," and required five hundred men to work it. There was at Debal a lofty temple (*budd*) surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red flag, which when the breeze blew was unfurled over the city. The *budd* is a high steeple, below which the idol or idols are deposited, as in this instance. The Indians give in general the name of *budd* to anything connected with their worship or which forms the object of their veneration. So, an idol is called *budd*.

In the correspondence which ensued, Muhammad informed Hajjaj of what he had done, and solicited advice respecting the future. Letters were written every three days. One day a reply was received to this effect — "Fix the manjaník and shorten its foot, and place it on the east, you will then call the manjaník-master, and tell him to aim at the flag-staff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken, at which the infidels were sore afflicted. The idolaters advanced to the combat, but were put to flight, ladders were then brought and the Musulmáns escaladed the wall. The first who gained the summit was a man of Kúfa, of the tribe of Murad. The town was thus taken by assault, and the carnage endured for three days. The governor of the town, appointed by Dahur, fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Muhammad marked out a place for the Musulmáns to dwell in, built a mosque, and left four thousand Musulmans to garrison the place.

Muhammad, son of Yahya, says that Mansúr, the son of Hatim, the grammarian, a freeman of the family of Khálid, son of Assaid, relates that he had seen the pole broken into fragments which had been placed on the steeple of the temple. 'Ambissa son of Ishak Az Zabbí, the governor of Sind, in the Khalífat of Mu'tasim billah,

knocked down the upper part of the minaret of the temple and converted it into a prison. At the same time he began to repair the ruined town with the stones of the minaret, but before he had completed his labours, he was deprived of his employment, and was succeeded by Harún, son of Abí Kháid-al Maruruzi, and he was slain there.

Muhammad, son of Kásim then went to Nírún,<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of which place had already sent two Samanis, or priests, of their town to Hayjú to treat for peace. They furnished Muhammad with supplies, and admitting him to enter the town, they were allowed to capitulate. Muhammad conquered all the towns successively which he met on his route, until he had crossed a river which runs on this side of the Míhrán [Indus]. He then saw approaching towards him Sarbídas, the Samaní, who came to demand peace in the name of the inhabitants. Muhammad imposed tribute upon them, and then went towards Sahbán, and took it. Then he went to the banks of the Míhrán, and there remained. When this news reached Dahir, he prepared for battle. Muhammad, son of Kásim, had sent Muhammad son of Mus'ab, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán as Sakífi, to Sadúsán, with men mounted on horses and asses, at whose approach the inhabitants solicited quarter and peace, the terms of which were negotiated by the Samaní. Muhammad granted them peace, but he imposed tribute on the place, and took pledges from them, and then returned to his master. He brought with him four thousand Jats, and left at Sadúsán an officer in command.

Muhammad sought the means of crossing the Míhrán and effected the passage in a place which adjoined the dominions of Rasíl, chief of Kassa, in Hind, upon a bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Dahir had neglected every precaution, not believing that the Musulmans would dare to advance so far. Muhammad and his Musulmáns encountered Dahir mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by many of these animals, and his Takakaras [Thakurs] were near his person. A dreadful conflict ensued, such as had never been heard of. Dahir dismounted and fought valiantly, but he was killed towards the evening, when the idolaters fled, and the

<sup>1</sup> [Goeje's text has "Bírún," but he says the MS. had سرون]

Musulmáns glutted themselves with massacre, According to Al Madámí, the slayer of Dáhir was a man of the tribe of Kaláb, who composed some verses upon the occasion. \* \* \* \*

Various authors concur in saying that Muhammad took the village of Ráwar<sup>1</sup> by assault, in which city there was a wife of Dáhir, who, afraid of being captured, burned herself along with her handmaids and all that she possessed

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim, went to old Brahmanábád, two parasangs from Mansúra, which town indeed did not then exist, its site being a forest The remnant of the army of Dáhir rallied at Brahmanábád and resistance being made, Muhammad was obliged to resort to force, when eight, or as some say, twenty-six thousand men were put to the sword He left a prefect there The place is now in ruins

Muhammad then marched towards Alrúr<sup>2</sup> and Baghrúr The people of Sávandari came out to meet him and sued for peace, which was granted them, on the condition that they should entertain the Muhammadans and furnish guides At this time they profess the Muhammadan creed. After that he went to Basma, where the inhabitants obtained peace on the same terms as those accorded to the Sávandrians At last he reached Alrúr, one of the cities of Sind It is situated on a hill. Muhammad besieged it for several months, and compelled it to surrender promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples (*budd*) "The temples," he said, "shall be unto us, like as the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians" He imposed, however, the tribute upon the inhabitants, and built a mosque in the city

Muhammad advanced to Alsaka,<sup>3</sup> a town on this side of the Biyás, which was captured by him, and is now in ruins He then crossed the Biyás, and went towards Multán, where, in the action which ensued, Záida, the son of 'Umur, of the tribe of Táí, covered himself with glory The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Musulmáns were reduced to eat asses Then came there

<sup>1</sup> [See Elphinstone, I p 506 ]

<sup>2</sup> [Alrúd in one MS Alor is the place intended ]

<sup>3</sup> [السكة.]

forward a man who sued for quarter, and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well, which they call *taldh*.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad destroyed the water-course, upon which the inhabitants, oppressed with thirst, surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captive, as well as the ministers of the temple to the number of six thousand. The Musulmáns found there much gold in a chamber ten cubits long by eight broad, and there was an aperture above, through which the gold was poured into the chamber. Hence they call Multán "the Frontier of the House of Gold," for *fary* means "a frontier."<sup>2</sup> The temple (*budd*) of Multán received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job,—God's peace be on him!

We are told that Hajjáj caused a calculation to be made of the sums expended in fitting out this expedition of Muhammad Kásim, and the riches which resulted from it. He had spent sixty millions (of dirhams) and that which had been sent to him amounted to one hundred and twenty millions. He said—"We have appeased our anger, and avenged our injuries, and we have gained sixty millions of dirhams, as well as the head of Dáhir. Hajjáj then died.<sup>3</sup> Upon learning this, Muhammad left Multan and returned to Alrúr and Baghrúr, which had been previously captured. He made donations to his men, and sent an army towards al-Balamán, the inhabitants of which place surrendered without any resistance. He made peace with the inhabitants of Surast, with whom the men of Basca<sup>4</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> M. Reinaud observes that the pronoun does not indicate whether this native word applies to the canal or the reservoir. He conjectures, with some probability, that the word may be *uidd*, "stream," but that word is not so pronounced at Multán. I prefer, therefore, *tahib*, *taldo*, "a tank, or reservoir." [In Goeje's edition the word is تال]

<sup>2</sup> When the Musulmáns arms extended to the mountains parallel with the course of the Indus, the kingdoms of Kábul and Sind were called Faryán "the two frontiers"—Uylenbroeck, *Iraca Persica Descriptio*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> [In the year 95 H, 714 A D.]

<sup>4</sup> [Budha.]

now at war They are Meds, seafarers, and pirates Then he went against the town of Kíraj Dúhar advanced to oppose him, but the enemy was put to flight Dúhar fled, but some say he was killed. The inhabitants surrendered Muhammad slew (all those capable of bearing arms) and reduced the rest to slavery ○ ○ ○

Meanwhile, Walid, son of 'Abdu-l malik, died, and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaimán, who appointed Sálíh, son of 'Abdu-Rahman, to collect the tribute of 'Irák Yazid, son of Abú kabsha as-Sakaakí, was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad, son of Kásim, was sent back a prisoner with Mu'áwiya, son of Muhallab The people of Hind wept for Muhammad, and preserved his likeness at Kíraj He was imprisoned by Salih at Wasit Sálíh put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abú 'Ukail, until they expired for Hajjáj' (Muhammad's cousin) had put to death Adam, Sálíh's brother, who professed the creed of the Khárijis Hamza, the son of Baiz Hanafi, says —

“Verily, courage, and generosity, and liberality,  
Belonged to Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad,  
He led armies at the age of seventeen years,  
He seemed destined for command from the day of his birth”

Yazid, son of Abú Kabsha, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind Sulaiman then appointed Habíb, son of al Muhallab, to carry on the war in Sind, and he departed for that purpose Meanwhile the princes of Hind had returned to their states, and Jaishiya,<sup>2</sup> son of Dahir, had come back to Brahmanábád Habíb proceeded to the banks of the Míhrán, where the people of Alrúr made their submission, but he warred against a certain tribe and reduced them

When the Khalíf Sulaiman, son of 'Abdu-l Malik, died, he was succeeded by 'Umar son of 'Abdu-l 'Azíz<sup>3</sup> He wrote to the princes (of Hind) inviting them to become Musulmán's and submit to his authority, upon which they would be treated like all other Musul-

<sup>1</sup> That sanguinary wretch is said to have slaughtered by his arbitrary mandates 120,000 persons, and after his death there were found in his different prisons, 30,000 men and 20,000 women This is drawn from Persian sources The Sunni writers represent him as just and impartial, notwithstanding his unflinching severity — Pascual de Gayangos, *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. “Al Hajjáj”

<sup>2</sup> [This reading is from Kudáma, and is confirmed by the Chach-náma Our text is doubtful حشہ Reinand gives “Hullysah” *Mem. sur l'Inde*. 191 The true name was Jai Sinha See *Chach-náma*, *post*] <sup>3</sup> [717 A.D.]

máns These princes had already heard of his promises, character, and creed, so Jaishiya and other princes turned Musulmáns, and took Arab names 'Amrú, son of Muslim al Bahalí was lieutenant of 'Umar on this frontier He invaded several places in Hind and subdued them

In the days of Yazíd, son of 'Abdu-l Malik,<sup>1</sup> the sons of Al Muhallib fled to Sind, and Húlal, son of Ahwaz al Tamími was sent after them He fell in with them and killed Mudrak, son of Muhallab, at Kandábil He also slew Mufazzal, 'Abdu-l Malik, Ziyad, Marún, and Mu'áwiya, sons of Muhallab, last of all he killed Mu'áwiya, son of Yazíd

Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán al Marri was appointed to the frontier of Sind, under the authority of 'Umar, son of Húbaira al Fazrí, and was confirmed in the government by (the Khalíf) Hasham, son of 'Abdu-l Malik<sup>2</sup> When Khálid, son of 'Abdu-llah Al Kasrí was sent to 'Irák (as governor) Hashám wrote to Junaid directing him to keep up a correspondence with Khálid Junaid went to Debal and from thence to the banks of the Múhran, but Jaishiya (son of Dálur) forbade him to cross, and sent to him, saying, "I have become a Musulman, and an excellent man confirmed me in my states, but I have no faith in thee" But (Junaid) gave him pledges and took pledges from him, together with the tribute due from his territories They thus exchanged guarantees, but Jaishiya acted like an infidel and took up arms But some say, on the contrary, that he did not begin the attack, but that Junaid dealt unjustly with him Jaishiya assembled his troops, fitted out ships and prepared for war Junaid proceeded against him in ships and they fought in the lake of Ash Sharkí Jaishiya's ship was destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner and slain Sasa<sup>3</sup> son of Dáhir fled and proceeded towards 'Irák to complain of the treachery of Junaid, but the latter did not cease to conciliate him until they had shaken hands, and then he slew him Junaid made war against Kíraj, the people of which had rebelled He made use of battering-rams, and battered the walls of the town with them until they were breached, and then he stormed the place, slaying, plundering, and making

<sup>1</sup> [Yazíd II reigned 720 to 724 A.D.]

<sup>2</sup> [Began to reign 724 A.D.]

<sup>3</sup> [ساسة]

captives. He then sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Dahnaj, and Barús [Broach]. Junaid used to say, "It is better to die with bravado than with resignation." He sent a force against Uzain<sup>1</sup> and he also sent Habíd, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Málíba<sup>2</sup>. They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharímad<sup>3</sup> and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Balamán and Jurz,<sup>4</sup> and he received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.

The successor of Junaid was Tamím, son of Zaid al 'Utbi. He was feeble and imbecile, and died near Debal in a water called the "Buffalo-water." This water was so called because buffalos took refuge there from the bears which infested the banks of the Míhrán. Tamím was one of the most generous of Arabs, he found in the treasury of Sind eighteen million Tataríya dirhams, which he soon spent \* \* \* \* \*. In the days of Tamím, the Musulmán's retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions, nor have they up to the present time advanced so far as in days gone by.

Hakím, son of 'Awána al Kalbí, succeeded Tamím. The people of India had returned to idolatry excepting these of Kassa, and the Musulmans had no place of security in which they could take refuge, so he built a town on the other side of the lake facing India, and called it Al Mahfúza, "the secure," and this he made a place of refuge and security for them, and their chief town. He asked the elders of the tribe of Kalb, who were of Syrian descent, what name he should give the town. Some said Dimashk [Damascus], others, Hims [Emessa], and others Tadmúr [Palmyra]. Hakím said (to the latter), "May God destroy<sup>5</sup> you, O fool." He gave it the name of Al Mahfúza, and dwelt there.

'Amrú, son of Muhammad son of Kásim was with Hakím, and the latter advised with him, trusted him with many important matters, and sent him out of Al Mahfuza on a warlike expedition. He was victorious in his commission, and was made an amir. He founded

<sup>1</sup> [Ujjain]

<sup>2</sup> [Málwa or Malabar]

<sup>3</sup> [بهرمد]

<sup>4</sup> [Guzerat. See Note A in Appendix]

<sup>5</sup> [There is a pun here on the root of the word Tadmur]

a city on this side of the lake, which he called Mansúra, in which city the governors now dwell. Hakim recovered from the hands of the enemy those places which they had subjugated, and gave satisfaction to the people in his country. Khálid said, "It is very surprising,—I gave the charge of the country to the most generous of Arabs, that is, to Tamím, and they were disgusted. I gave it to the most niggardly of men and they were satisfied." Hakim was killed there.

The governors who succeeded continued to kill the enemy, taking whatever they could acquire and subduing the people who rebelled. When the fortunate dynasty (that of the 'Abbásides) was established, Abú Muslim appointed 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Abú Muslim Mughallisá-l 'Abdí, to the frontier of Sind. 'Abdu-r Rahman went by way of Tukháristán, and proceeded against Mansúr, son of Jamhúr al Kalbí, who was in Sind. But he was met by Mansúr and slain, and his forces were put to flight. When Muslim heard this he appointed Músa, son of Ka'bu-t Tamímí, and sent him to Sind. When he arrived, the river Míhrán lay between him and Mansúr, son of Jamhúr.<sup>1</sup> Still he came up with Mansúr, put him and his forces to flight, and slew his brother Manzúr. Mansúr fled in wretched plight to the sands, where he died of thirst. Músa ruled in Sind, repaired the city of Mansúra, and enlarged its mosque. He was victorious in his campaigns.

The Khalíf al Mansúr sent to Sind Hashám, son of 'Amrú al Taghlábí, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent 'Amrú, son of Jamal, in boats to Nárand.<sup>2</sup> He also sent (a force) to the territories of Hind, subdued Kashmír, and took many prisoners and slaves. Multán was reduced, and he overpowered a body of Arabs who were in Kandábil, and drove them out. He then went to Kandahár in boats, and conquered it. He destroyed the *budd* there, and built in its place a mosque. There was abundance in the country under his rule, and the people blessed him—he extended the frontier, and enforced his decrees.

'Umar, son of Hafa, son of 'Usmán Hazármard, was then appointed

<sup>1</sup> [Coins of this Mansúr and of other Sind rulers have been found in the ruins of a city supposed to be Brahmanábád.—Thomas' *Prinsep*, II, 119.]

<sup>2</sup> [نارند]



governor of Sind, and after him Dáúd, son of Yarád, son of Hátim. There was with him Abú-l Samma, who had been a slave of the tribe of Kanda, and who is now governor. The affairs of the frontier went on prosperously until Bashár, son of Dáúd, was appointed under the Khalifat of Mámún<sup>1</sup>. He rebelled, and set up in opposition. Ghassán, son of 'Abbad, who was a native of the neighbourhood of Kúfa, was sent against him. Bashár proceeded to meet Ghassán under a safe conduct, and they both proceeded to the Muhammadan capital (Baghdád). Ghassán deputed Musa, son of Yahya, son of Khálid, son of Barmak, to the charge of the frontier. Músa killed Bála, king of Ash-sharkí, although the latter had given him five hundred thousand dirhams to preserve his life. Bála was faithful to Ghassán, and wrote to him in the presence of his army, through the princes who were with him, but his request was rejected. Músa died in 221<sup>2</sup> A.H. (836 A.D.), leaving a high reputation, and he appointed his son 'Amrún as his successor. The Khalif M'utasm bi-llah wrote to him confirming him in the government of the frontier. He marched to Káikán against the Jats, whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there, which he called Al Baizá, "the white,"<sup>3</sup> and he posted a military force there. Then he proceeded to Multan, and from thence to Kandábul, which city stands upon a hill. Muhammad, son of Khalil, was reigning there, but 'Amrún slew him, conquered the town, and carried away its inhabitants to Kusdár. Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band*, which is called "Sakru-l Med," *Band of the Meds*. He encamped on the river at Alrúr<sup>4</sup>. There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed<sup>5</sup> their hands, took from them the *jizya* (capitation tax), and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him,—hence the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water became salt, and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them.

<sup>1</sup> [Began to reign in 813 A.D.]

<sup>2</sup> [The text says 21, but this is a manifest error.]

<sup>4</sup> علي بئر الرور *lit* "On the river of Rúr"]

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p. 118.]

<sup>5</sup> [حتم أيديهم]

Dissensions then arose between the Nizárians<sup>1</sup> and Yamánians, and 'Amran joined with the latter 'Umar, son of 'Abu-l Azíz al Habbári, consequently went to him and killed him unawares. The ancestor of this 'Umar had come into Sind with Hakím, son of 'Awána al Kalbí<sup>2</sup>

Mansur, son of Hatím, related to me that Fazl, son of Múhán, formerly a slave of the sons of Sáma, got into Sindán and subdued it. He then sent an elephant to the Khalíf Mámún, and wrote to him and offered up prayers for him in the Jámí' masjid, which he built there. When he died he was succeeded by Muhammad son of Fazl son of Múhán. He proceeded with sixty vessels against the Meds of Hind. He killed a great number of them, captured Kallari<sup>3</sup> (?) and then returned towards Sindán. But his brother, named Múhán, had made himself master of Sindán, and wrote to the Khalíf Mu'tasim bi-llah, and had sent to him as a present the largest and longest *śāy*,<sup>4</sup> that had been seen. But the Indians were under the control of his brother whom they liked, so they slew Múhán and crucified him. The Indians afterwards made themselves masters of Sindán, but they spared the mosque, and the Muhammadans used to meet in it on the Friday and pray for the Khalíf.

Abú Bakr, who had been a slave of the Karízís, related to me that the country called Al 'Usaifán between Kashmír and Multan and Kábul, was governed by a wise king. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the ministers of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned and said, "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in pieces the idol, and slew its ministers. He afterwards invited a

<sup>1</sup> [The Nizárians are the descendants of Nizár, an ancestor of Muhammad, and the Yamánians are the tribes of Yaman (Yemen). See note in Reynaud's *Fragments*, also his *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, p. 72, et seq.]

<sup>2</sup> See a note upon the Amírs Músa and Amran, in Reynaud's *Fragments*, p. 215.]

<sup>3</sup> [The text has *قالی*]

<sup>4</sup> [*Śāy*, a green or black sash rolled round the head and hanging down behind. It is also the name of the teak tree.]

in the 58th year of his age, and the 613th of the Hġrġ (1216 A D), he withdrew his hand from all the concerns which had previously occupied his mind, and made a few delightful books his sole companions. He considered within himself that learned persons of every age had, by the assistance of their masters and patrons, compiled histories and books, and established a reputation for themselves by their literary attainments, that, for instance, the conquests of Khurasān, 'Irāk, Persia, Rūm, and Shām had been celebrated at large in poetry and prose by authors of past ages, and that a victory had been achieved, and the country of Hindūstān conquered, by Muhammad Kāsīm and other nobles of Arabia and Syria, and mosques and pulpits had been raised throughout the country, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Kashmġr and Kanauj, and Rāġ Dāhġr, son of Chach, the king of Alor, had been slain by the great noble, the best man of the State and Religion, Muhammad bin Kāsīm bin 'Akġl Sakġfġ, may God's mercy be on him! and the Rāġ's territory with all its dependencies had been taken possession of by that conqueror. The translator, therefore, wished to be acquainted with an account of the country and its inhabitants, and also with the history of Dāhġr's defeat and death, in order that he might be able to compile a book upon that interesting subject.

In the endeavour to obtain this information, he left the sacred city of U'ch, and went to Alor and Bhakar, the Imāms of which places were the descendants of the Arab conquerors. On his arrival there, he met with the Maulāna Kāzġ, Isma'ġl bin 'Alġ bin Muġammad bin Musā bin Tāġ bin Ya'kūb bin Taġ bin Mūsā bin Muġammad bin Shaibān bin 'Usmān Sakġfġ. He was a mine of learning and the soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety, and eloquence. On being consulted on the subject of the Arabian conquest, he informed the translator that an account of it was written by one of his ancestors, in a book composed in the Arabic language, which had descended from one generation to the other, till it reached his hands by course of inheritance. But as it was dressed in the language of

Hijáz, it had obtained no currency among the people, to whom that language was foreign

When the translator read the book, he found it adorned with jewels of wisdom and pearls of precepts. It related various feats of chivalry and heroism on the part of the Arabs and Syrians. It treated of the capture of those forts which had never before been taken, and showed the morning of the night of infidelity and barbarism. It recounted what places in those days were honoured by the arrival of the Muhammadans, and having been conquered by them, were adorned by religious edifices, and exalted by being the residence of devotees and saints. Up to this day, the translator continues, the country is improving in Islám faith and knowledge, and at all periods since the conquest the throne of royalty has been occupied by one of the slaves of the house of Muhammad, who removed the rust of Paganism from the face of Islám.

He proceeds to tell us that he dedicates his translation to the minister of Násiru-d dín Kabácha, whom he designates among other titles, the Defender of the State and Religion, the greatest of all Wazírs, the master of the sword and pen, Sadr-ı Jahán Dastúr-ı Sálub-Kırán 'Ainu-l Mulk Husam bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'ri.

He states as his reason for the dedication, that not only might he advance his own interests by the minister's favour and influence, but that the selection was peculiarly appropriate in consequence of the minister's ancestors, Abú Músá al Asha'ri, having obtained many victories in Khurásán and 'Ajam. To him therefore might be most fitly dedicated an account of the early conquest of Sind.

At the close of the work, he again says that as the work was written in the Hijází (Arabic) language, and was not clothed in a Pehlvi garb, it was little known to the inhabitants of 'Ajam (foreign countries or Persia), and repeats the name of the person to whom it was dedicated, as 'Ainu-l Mu"

There can, therefore, be little doubt that this is the same minister to whom Muhammad Aufi has dedicated his *Lubbu-l Lubáb*, respecting whose identity some doubt has been entertained, in consequence of the title 'Ainu-l Mulk not being commonly ascribed to any minister of that period. The repetition of the name by the translator of the *Chach-náma* leaves no doubt that Husain bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'ri is the person indicated.

As this translation was made at so early a period of the Muhammadan dominion in India, it is greatly to be regretted that the translator did not attempt to identify the many unknown places of which mention is made in the course of the narrative. As he had himself visited U'ch, Alor, and Bhakar, and probably other places lower down the Indus, he might have cleared up the many doubts which our ignorance of the localities entails upon us.

It is difficult to fix the precise period of the composition of the original Arabic. It is not said to have been *composed* by an ancestor of the person from whom the translator obtained it at Bhakar, but merely to have been written in the handwriting (*khat*) of one of his ancestors. This may be applied either to composition or transcription, but the use of the term renders the precise meaning doubtful—most probably composition is referred to. In either case, we have a guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative, in the fact that the ancestor of Isma'il, the possessor of the manuscript, was himself a participator in the scenes and the advantages of the conquest, for we find it distinctly mentioned, that the Kázi appointed by Muhammad Kásim, after the conquest of Alor, was Músá bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán. Now if we look at the name of the person from whom the translator obtained the Arabic original, we shall find it mentioned as Isma'il bin 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Músá bin Táí bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Musá bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usman. In both in-

stances 'Usmán is mentioned as Sakífi, that is, of the same tribe as the conqueror himself<sup>1</sup> The genealogies do not tally in every respect, and it is evident that in the later one some intermediate generations, as is frequently the case, are omitted; but still there is quite sufficient similarity to show descent from the same ancestor The titles also of ancestor and descendant resemble each other most closely The first Kází appointed to Alor is called Sadr al Imámia al Ajall al 'Álm Burhānu-l Millat wau-d dīn The contemporary of the translation is called Mauláná Kází al Imám al Ajall al 'Álm al Bári' Kamálu-l Millat wau-d dīn It is very strange that the translator takes no notice of this identity of pedigree, by which the value and authenticity of the work are so much increased, but it is probable that it did not occur to him, or such a circumstance could scarcely have escaped mention

Notwithstanding that Elphinstone uses the expression "professes to be a translation," which would imply a suspicion of the fact, there is no reason to doubt that the work is a translation of a genuine Arab history, written not very long after the conquest There appears in it very little modern interpolation, and it is probable that those passages which contain anachronisms were the work of the original writer, and not of the translator The placing a sentence of the Kurán in Lúdí's mouth—the Bismillah at the beginning of the letters of Sindian princes, the praises of Islám ascribed to Hindús, the use of the foreign names of Brahmanábád, which is explained to be a version of the native Bamanwáh, are all evidently the work of the original author

It is to be regretted that there is no hope of recovering the Arabic work, for although the very meagre accounts of this important conquest by Abú-l Fida, Abú-l Faraj, Ibn Kutaiba, and Almakín lead us to expect little information from Arabic authorities, yet it might possibly contain other interesting matter

<sup>1</sup> The Sakif tribes (Thakif) were of great importance They had quarters at Tayif, and were the guardians of the upper road to *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7

respecting the communication between Arabia and Sind, which the translator did not think worthy of special notice

An air of truth pervades the whole, and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject, than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author. The two stories which appear the most fictitious, are the accusation of Jaisiya by the sister of Darohar, and the revenge of the two daughters of Dáhir upon Muhammad Kásim. The former is evidently manufactured on the model of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a story familiar throughout the East, but the latter is novel, and not beyond the bounds of probability, when we consider the blind obedience which at that time was paid to the mandates of the Prophet's successor, of which, at a later period, we have so many instances in the history of the Assassins, all inspired by the same feeling, and executed in the same hope.

The narrative is unambitious, and tropes and figures are rarely indulged in, except in describing the approach of night and morning, [but the construction is often involved, and the language is occasionally ungrammatical. Besides these defects, the events recorded do not always appear to follow in their proper chronological sequence.]

The antiquity of the original Arabic work is manifest, not only from the internal evidence of the narrative, but from some omissions which are remarkable, such as the name of Mansúra, which must have been mentioned had it been in existence at that time. Now Mansúra was built in the beginning of the reign of the Káhlf Al Mansúr, who succeeded in 136 A H (A D 753). It is evident that the work must have been written before that time. Then, again, we have nowhere any mention of Maswáhi, Manjábari, Annari, or Al-Baiza, all important towns noticed by Biláduri and Ibn Haukal, and other early writers on Sind, and the work must therefore have been composed before their time. Again, it is plain that the mass of the people were Buddhists, which no author, especially a foreign one, would have

described them as being, had he lived after the extinction of that religion in India. We read of Samanis, monks, and a royal white elephant, which are no longer heard of at the later invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní. Again, some portions of the history are derived from oral testimony received at second, third, or fourth hand, from those who were participators in the transactions recorded, just in the same way as Tabarí, who wrote in the third century of the Hírí, probably later than our author, traces all his traditions to eye or ear-witnesses.

Elphinstone's estimate of the work is that, "though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanskrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist." He states that he did not see this work until his narrative of Kásim's military transactions had been completed.

The Chach-náma is the original from which Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, Nuru-l Hakk, Firishta, Mír Ma'sum, and others, have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind. They have, however, left much interesting matter unnoticed, and even the later professed translations by Lieutenant Postans, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No LXXIV, 1838, and No CXI, 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is moreover unfortunately disfigured by many misprints.



## EXTRACTS

[The MS referred to as *A* is Sir H. M. Elliot's copy *B* is that belonging to the East India Library, which has been referred to in obscure passages and for doubtful names]

*Commencement of the book upon the history of Rai Dahir, son of Chach, son of Silah, and of his death at the hands of Muhammad Kásim Sakfi*

Chroniclers and historians have related that the city of Aler, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a large city adorned with all kinds of palaces and villas, gardens and groves, reservoirs and streams, parterres and flowers. It was situated on the banks of the Sihún, which they call Mubrán. This delightful city had a king, whose name was Siharas, son of Sâhasí Rái Shâhí<sup>1</sup>. He possessed great wealth and treasures. His justice was diffused over the earth, and his generosity was renowned in the world. The boundaries of his dominions extended on the east to Kashmír, on the west to Makrán, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kardán<sup>2</sup> and to Kaikúnán<sup>3</sup>. He had established four maliks, or governors, in his territories. The first at Brahmanabád and the forts of Nirún, Debal, Lohána, Lakha, and Samma, down to the sea (darya), were placed in his charge. The second at the town of Siwistán under him were placed Búdhpúr,<sup>4</sup> Jankan, and the skirts of the hills of Rújhán to the borders of Makrán.<sup>5</sup> The third at the fort of Askalanda and Pábiya,<sup>6</sup> which are called Talwára and Chachpúr, under him were placed their dependencies to the frontier of Búdhpúr.

<sup>1</sup> [This is an error—Sâhasí was son of Siharas—his father was called Diwáj. See post page 140.]

<sup>2</sup> [Or "Karwán"]

<sup>3</sup> [از شمالي تا كوه كردان و اركيكابان و در ممالك خود چهار ملك را] etc., etc.]

<sup>4</sup> [This is the reading of MS *A*, but *B* generally has "Búdhya" two different forms of the same name.]

<sup>5</sup> [This is a doubtful passage,

MS *A* says بودھپور و جکان و کوه پایہ روحہاں تا حد مکران  
*B* has بودھپہ حمال و کوه پایہ دوحاں تا حد مکران]

<sup>6</sup> [ماییر in *A* and بابیہ in *B*. This name is written Páya and Báya, Búbiya and Pábiya the last seems the preferable form.]

The fourth at the great city of Multán and Sikka, and Brahmapúr<sup>1</sup> and Karu, and Ashahár and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmir, were under his government. He (the king) himself dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kardán,<sup>2</sup> and Kalkúnán and Banarhás<sup>3</sup> He enjoined upon every one of his princes the necessity of being prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms, and horses ready. He also ordered them to attend to the security of the country, the conciliation of the subjects, and the reparation of the buildings, so that they might keep their districts and dependencies safe. Throughout his dominions there was no disaffected person who could make any pretensions against the specification of his frontiers. Suddenly, by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nimroz marched from Fars to Makrín<sup>4</sup>. When Siharas heard this he went forth from the fort of Alor,<sup>5</sup> haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and when many brave men and tried warriors, on both sides, had been slain, the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty, made an assault, and broke and put to flight the army of Rái Siharas. He himself stood firm, fighting for his name and honour, until he was killed. The king of Fars then returned to Nimroz, and Rái Sâhasí, son of Siharas, sat upon the throne of his father. He established his authority in the country, and the four princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Rái Sâhasí, and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule. He had a chamberlain named Rám, son of Abi (?), a man of science and wisdom<sup>6</sup>. This man had full and general authority over all parts of the dominions of Rái Sâhasí, no person could enter or leave the king's service but through him. The duties of chief secretary were entrusted to him, and Rái Sâhasí had faith in his eloquent pen, and never doubted his rectitude.

<sup>1</sup> [So in MS. B, but Budhpúr in A.]

<sup>2</sup> [Or Karwán.]

<sup>3</sup> [Or Barhás.]

<sup>4</sup> [The Text adds *برسم تلاوت تاری* in Arab fashion.]

<sup>5</sup> [MS. B says "Ráwar".]

<sup>6</sup> [Some words including the name are omitted in MS. A.]

*Chach, son of Silāḥ, goes to the Chamberlain Rām*

*The office of Chamberlain is conferred on Chach, son of Silāḥ*

*The Rānī falls in love with Chach, and Chach refuses compliance*

*Sāhasī Rāt dies and goes to hell*

*Chach ascends the throne of Malīk Sāhasī Rāt*

*Chach fights with Mahmat (Chief of Jaipur<sup>1</sup>) and kills him by stratagem*

*Chach marries Rānī Subhān Deo*

*Chach sends for his brother Chandar and establishes him in Alor*

*Chach issues orders appointing Chandar his deputy*

*Chach asks Budhīman, the minister, questions concerning the government*

° ° ° ° °

Budhīman, the minister, bowed his head to the ground, and said, "May Rāi Chach live for ever, and may it be known to him, that this government was under the dominion of a sole king, and his chiefs were always obedient to him. When the country was ruled by Sīharas, son of Dīwāj, and when he was conquered by the army of Fārs, Sāhasī succeeded to the empire. He similarly appointed all the four rulers to their territories, expecting them to exert themselves in the collection of the revenue and the protection of the country

° ° ° ° °

*Chach proceeds to visit and mark the boundaries of Alor*

When Chach heard these words from Budhīman, the minister, they made an impression upon him. He was very happy. He praised the minister very much, and took it as a good omen. He sent far-māns to the authorities in all parts of the kingdom and called (for and from) the governors of the different divisions. He then prepared an army declaring that he would go to the boundary of Hindūstān which adjoined the (kingdom of the) Turk. The astrologers fixed an auspicious time, at which he departed, and after he had gone many marches he reached the fort of Pabīya, on the southern bank of the Bīās. The Chief of the place gave battle, but after great fighting

<sup>1</sup> [Both MSS here agree in reading *Jitūr*, but the explanation in page 169 shows that the name must be *Jaipur*. Mir Ma'sum couples it with Jodhpur and writes the name "*Chitūr*," or "*Japūr*." The *Tuhfatul Kurām* has "*Chitūr*"]

and bloodshed, the king of Pábiya fled and entered the fort. Rai Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass, and wood, and fuel, were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of darkness and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of night. He fled towards the fort of Askalanda and encamped in the vicinity of that city. This fort was stronger than the first, and when he reached the fields of this city he sent his spies to obtain information, and when they came back they reported that Chach had entered the fort of Pábiya, and was staying there.

*Chach proceeds to the fort of Askalanda<sup>1</sup>*

allegiance Chach gave him some prohibitions and admonitions, so that he continued faithful in obedience and never disobeyed his orders

*Chach marches towards Sikka and Multán*

Having completed the expedition to Askalanda, Chach proceeded towards Sikka and Multán. In Multán there was a chief (malik) whose name was Bajhrá. He was a relation of Sáhasi. When he received the news of the arrival of Chach, he came to the banks of the Rávi. He had large dominions and possessed great abilities. Suhewal, his nephew, governed the fort of Sikka opposite Multán, towards the east, and along with Ajin, the cousin of Bajhrá came with a large force to meet him<sup>1</sup> (Chach), and he<sup>1</sup> (Chach) encamped at a ford on the Biás<sup>2</sup> for three months. When the water decreased, they selected a place at a village a little above the encampment, where the water did not prevent a passage, and he (Chach) crossed over. He came to Sikka, and fought a battle with Suhewal. He besieged the fort for some days, and the enemy was much pressed. Some men were slain on Chach's side, and on the side of the infidels many were despatched to hell. Suhewal then fled, and went to the fort of Multán. They entered the fort, and stood on the banks of the Rávi<sup>3</sup> prepared with all the implements of war. Chach then took possession of the fort of Sikka, and killed five thousand soldiers, and made the inhabitants slaves and prisoners of war. Chach placed Amír 'Alíu-d Daula in the fort of Sikka, and himself passed over to Multán. Both armies confronted each other. Malik Bajhrá, with a formidable army, fighting elephants, and men of war, came out and opposed Chach. Sharp encounters ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. Bajhrá took refuge in the fort, and wrote letters to the ruler of Kashmír stating that Chach, son of Siláji, a Brahman, had become chief of Alor, the capital. He had come with

<sup>1</sup> [The text is ambiguous, and the appropriation of the personal pronoun is a matter of inference.]

<sup>2</sup> [برگدر بیاس ششست] "Biás" may possibly here be the name of the ford, but the old bed of the Bias is still traceable between Multán and the Ghárá to where it joined the Chináb thirty miles S W of Multán.]

<sup>3</sup> ["The Rávi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rain the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress"—Cunningham.]

a numerous army, and had conquered all the strongholds, great and small, and fortified them. That he (Bajhrá) was not able to cope with him, and no chief was victorious over him in battle. He had reached Multán, and it was expedient that the Chief of Kashmir should assist him (Bajhrá) and send reinforcements.

*The unsuccessful return of the messenger from Kashmir*

Before the messenger reached Kashmir, the Ráj of that place had died, and his son, who was only a boy, had succeeded him. The ministers, counsellors, attendants, and guards, as well as the nobles and chief men of the state, consulted with each other and answered the letter in a proper manner. They stated that the Ráj of Kashmir had departed to the next world, and his son was a mere boy of tender age. The different divisions of the army had raised their heads in rebellion and revolt. It was necessary that the affairs of these parts should be set straight, and therefore it was not at this time in their power to provide the means of assistance, and that Bajhrá must rely upon his own resources. When the messengers came back and communicated this, Bajhrá, despairing of assistance from the king of Kashmir, sued Ráj Chach for peace, and made promises and assurances. He said he would leave the fort if assured of his safety, in writing, and that nobody should molest him until he reached a place of security with all his followers and dependants. Chach agreed to these terms, and promised him protection. He came out of the fort, and, with his people, went towards the mountains of Kashmir. Chach entered the fort, and the province was brought under his dominion.

*Chach leaves his deputy in the fort of Multán and proceeds onward*

When he took the fort of Multán he appointed there a thákur as his deputy. He went into the temple, prostrated himself before the idols, and offered sacrifices. He then prepared to march forward. The rulers of Brahmapúr, Karúr and Ashahár, acknowledged submission to him. From these places he proceeded to the boundaries of Kumbá<sup>1</sup> and Kashmir. No king offered any resistance.

<sup>1</sup> [In page 139, both MSS write this name *Kumbá*. In this place, MS *A* has *Makir* or *Mdlsir*, and a few lines farther on, *Kina* or *Kanya*. MS *B* has *Kisa* here, and *Kumba* afterwards.]

“When the Almighty makes a man great he renders all his enterprises easy and gives him all his desires”

Every place to which he went fell into his possession. At last he reached the fort of Shákalhá, an elevated place which is called Kumba<sup>1</sup> on the borders of Kashmír, and stopped there for one month. He punished some of the chiefs of the surrounding places, and collected an army under his command. Then he made firm treaties with the chiefs and rulers of that part of the country, and securely established his dominion. He sent for two trees, one of which was a *maisir*, that is white poplar, and the other a *deodár*, that is a fir<sup>2</sup>. He planted them both on the the boundary of Kashmír, upon the banks of a stream, which is called the five waters,<sup>3</sup> and near the Kashmír hills, from which numerous fountains flow. He stayed there till the branches of each of the trees ran into those of the other. Then he marked them, and said it was the boundary mark between him and the Rái of Kashmír, and beyond it he would not go.

### *Return of Chach after fixing his boundary with Kashmír*

The narrator of this conquest has thus said, that when the boundary towards Kashmír was defined, Chach returned to the capital city Alor. He stopped there a year to take rest from the fatigues of the journey, and his chiefs got ready the provisions and materials of war. He then said, “O minister! I have no fear from the east, now I must take care of the west and the south.” The minister replied, “Indeed, it is most praiseworthy for kings to be acquainted with the affairs of their countries. It is also to be apprehended that from your absence in the upper provinces the nobles and the governors of the different parts may have presumed

<sup>1</sup> [و آن موضع بالاتر کیه (کهه B) گوید]

<sup>2</sup> This implies considerable altitude

<sup>3</sup> The word in the original is Arabic (پنج ماہیات) not the Persian Panjáb. The upper course of the Jailam, just after it debouches into the plains, seems to be alluded to here. A curious coincidence of expression is used by a late traveller with reference to the same locality. “We passed five branches of this beautiful river Jelam which at this place forms a little Panjáb of its own.” Serjeant-Major Brixham's *Raid to the Khyber*, p. 43

that since Rai Sâhasi there is nobody to demand from them the revenue of the country Truly mismanagement and disorder have taken place." On this, Chach, in an auspicious hour, marched towards the forts of Budâpûr<sup>1</sup> and Siwistân There was a chief in Siwistân, called Matta, and Chach crossed the Mîhrân at a village called Dihâyat, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor From this place he proceeded to Bûdhîya, the chief of which was the son of Kotal bin Bhandargû Bhagû His capital was Nânâráj,<sup>2</sup> and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawís Chach attacked and took the fort of Sawís Kaba, son of Kâka, came forth to ask quarter for the prince and his followers They laid upon themselves a tribute to pay him, and made their submission

*The army marches to Siwistan*

From that place he went to Siwistan, and when he approached it, Matta, its chief, came forth with great alarm and a large retinue to meet him A battle was fought, Chach was victorious, and Matta, with his army, fled and took refuge in the fort Chach besieged it, and after a week the garrison was obliged to sue for peace The terms being agreed to, they came out the fort, and surrendered the keys to the officers of Chach, who gave them protection and showed them much kindness He gave the chiefship of the place to Matta, and also placed one of his confidential officers there He stopped there for a few days, during which time the affairs of the territory and the city were put in order

*Chach sends a messenger to Akham Lohana, chief of Brahmanabâd*

When the invasion of Siwistân was over, Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohana, the governor of Brahmanâbâd, who was Chief also of Lûkha, Samma and Sihta, and called upon him to acknowledge submission When he was a few days' journey from Makrán, the footmen whom he had placed on the roads, caught a person with letters from Akham, which he had written to Matta, the governor of Siwistân, to the following effect "I have always behaved towards you with great cordiality and friendship, and have never

<sup>1</sup> [Bûdhîya in MS B No doubt the Budhpur or Bûdhîya of p 160, where it is also connected with Siwistân]

<sup>2</sup> ["Kâkârâj" in MS B]



shown you opposition or quarrelled with you. The letter which you sent by way of friendship was received, and I was much exalted by it. Our friendship shall remain confirmed for ever, and no animosity shall arise. I will comply with all your orders. You are a king, and the son of a king. Unity exists between you and me. Circumstances like this have occurred to many persons, and have obliged them to seek protection. You are at liberty to reside at any place you like within the territory of Brahmanábád, that is to say, up to the sea of Debal. If you have resolved to go in any other direction, there is nobody to prevent or molest you. Wherever you like to go I will assist you. I possess such power and influence that I can render you aid." Matta found it expedient to repair to the country of Hind, to Malik Ramal, who was also called Bhatti.

*Chach sends a letter to Akham Lohána*

Rái Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohána, saying, "You from your power, and pomp, and family descent, consider yourself the ruler of the time. Although this kingdom and sovereignty, wealth, riches, dignity, and power have not descended to me by inheritance, yet these distinguished favours and this exalted position have been given to me by God. It was not by my army that I gained them, but God, the single, the incomparable, the creator of the world, in favour to Siláíj, has given me this dominion, and this most glorious position. In all circumstances I obtain assistance from him, and I have no hope of aid from any other. He enables me to accomplish all my undertakings, and assists me in all my acts. He has given me victory in all battles, and over all my enemies. He has bestowed on me the blessings of both worlds. Although you think you have possessed yourself of all this power and circumstance by your courage and audacity, promptitude, and glory, you shall surely lose it, and to take your life is lawful."

*Chach arrives at Brahmanabad, and fights with Akham Lohána*

Chach then marched against Akham Lohána, who had gone from Brahmanábád into the interior of the country. When he received the intelligence of the arrival of Chach, he came to the capital, and made preparation for war. When Rái Chach arrived at the city of Brahmanábád, Akham stood ready to oppose him. After a great

slaughter of warriors on both sides, the army of Akham took to flight, and he entered his fort. Chach laid siege to it, and the siege lasted for the period of one year

In those days the king of Hindustán, that is, Kanauj, was Satbán,<sup>1</sup> son of Rásal, and Akham sent letters to him asking for assistance. But Akham died before the answer was returned, and his son succeeded him. Akham had a friend, an infidel Samaní, named Buddh-rakú,<sup>2</sup> i.e., "Protected by the idol." He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihár,<sup>3</sup> and the idol Dilhá (?)<sup>4</sup>. He was a devotee thereof, and famous for his piety, and all the people of the surrounding places were obedient to him. Akham was his disciple, and he regarded the Samaní as his pole-star. When Akham had taken refuge in the fort, the Samaní assisted him, he did not fight, but he read his books in his chamber of worship. When Akham died, and his son<sup>5</sup> succeeded him in the government, the Samaní was disaffected and troubled, for he did not think it right that the kingdoms and the property and estates should depart from his hands. In his perplexity he looked about, and he arrived at the conclusion that the country must fall to Chach, whether he would be friendly to him or not. Then the (late king's) son being sore pressed, his army and his forces gave up fighting, and the fort was surrendered to Chach, who firmly established his power in it. When Chach heard of the Samaní, and knew that he had made a compact with Akham and his son, and that the war had lasted for one year through his enchantments and magical power, he swore that if he ever captured the fort, he would seize him and flay him, and order drums to be covered with his skin, and have his body torn to pieces. This oath was reported to the Samaní, who laughed and said, "Chach will not have the power to kill me." When after a time, the people of the fort, after much fighting

<sup>1</sup> ["Siyár" in MS. B.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Buddh-rakú" in MS. A. *raku* or *rakhu* means "protected," from the Sanskrit *raṁshita*. *Ghi* probably represents the Sanskrit *gupta*, which also signifies "protected"]

<sup>3</sup> [See note in the next page.]

<sup>4</sup> [اورا نووهار گھتت و دت دلہاء (E. I. Lab) ہم راھب او بود]

<sup>5</sup> [MS. A. leaves out the word "son," and so makes the passage unintelligible.]

and great slaughter, gave up the contest, and solicited protection, by the intervention of nobles and chiefs, a treaty was made between both parties, and the fort was surrendered. Chach entered it, and told them that if they liked they might go away, there was no one to interfere with them, and if they wished to remain they might. The son and the dependants of Akham seeing him kindly disposed towards them, chose to remain. Chach stayed for a time in that city, and made himself acquainted with their disposition.

*Chach takes the wife of Akham to himself, and gives the daughter of his nephew to Akham's son Sarband*

Chach sent a man to the mother of Sarband and requested her hand. The son brought her. Chach gave Dharsiya, the daughter of his nephew to the son, and decked him in apparel of many colours. He stopped there for a year, and appointed officers on his part to collect the revenues. He subjugated the other surrounding chiefs. At last, he enquired where the enchanter Samani was, that he might see him. He was told that he was a great devotee, and that he would be found with the devotees, and that he was one of the philosophers of Hind. He was the keeper of the temple of Kan-vihār,<sup>1</sup> and amongst the other devotees he was the greatest, and had reached to perfection. He was so skilled in magic and enchantments, that he had made a world obedient and submissive to him. He had provided himself with all the requisites by means of his talismans, and for some time he had become friendly to Sarband because he had been friendly with his father. Through his power and protection the army of Brahmanábád had protracted the war for so long time.

*Chach visits the Samani, and enquires about his circumstances*

Chach ordered his body guards and soldiers to mount their horses, and went towards the temples of Budh and Kan-vihār:<sup>2</sup> with the

<sup>1</sup> [کوهار in both copies]

<sup>2</sup> [B ده و کسهار A ده و کسهار] This seems to be called indiscriminately Nuhār, and Kanúhār, and Kínúhār. The copulative conjunction in the text is incomprehensible. It occurs again a little below. [These names may be, as Sir H. Elliot conceived, mere varieties in spelling of the same name,—or they may be two different names of the same establishment or collection of buildings. There can be

intention of killing the Samanī. He called his armed men and instructed them that when during the interview he should stand up and look towards them, they should draw their swords and sever the Samanī's head from his body. When he reached the temple, he saw the Samanī sitting on a chair, engaged in worship, and having some clay in his hand<sup>1</sup> with which he was making idols, he had something like a stamp with which the figure of the buddh was made on the clay, and when it was finished he placed it on one side<sup>2</sup>. Chach stood by him, but received no attention from him. After a short time, when he had finished his idols, he raised his head and said, "Is the son of the monk Śīlāj come?" Chach replied, "Yes, O devotee." The Samanī said, "For what purpose have you come?" Chach answered that he wished to see him, and therefore he had come. The devotee bid him to sit down. Chach sat. The devotee spread a fine cloth, and made him sit on it. He asked, "O Chach! what do you want?" Chach replied, "I wish you would become my friend and return to Brahmanābād, that I might turn your thoughts to secular pursuits, and entrust you with great offices. You may live with Sarband, and give him advice and assistance." The devotee said, "I have nothing to do with your country, and have no wish to engage in public business. I do not like worldly concerns." Chach asked him, "Why did you side with the people of the fort of Brahmanābād?" He replied, "When Akham Lohāna died, and his son was grieved, I admonished him to cease lamenting for the departure of his father, and prayed the Almighty God to cause peace and friendship between the contending parties. It is better for me to serve Budh, and seek salvation in the next world, than all the offices and greatness of this. But as thou art the king of this country, at thy supreme command I will go with my family to the neighbourhood of the fort, although I fear

no doubt that the last word of the compound represents *viḥār*. *Nau*, or in Sanskrit *Nava*, signifies "New," and *Kan* may be the Hindi *Kān*, from the Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa*, a word which is found in the names Kānpur and Kānhari. These names would therefore signify "New monastery," and "Black monastery."

<sup>1</sup> [About a page of matter is here omitted from *B*.]

<sup>2</sup> [This process of stamping the clay figures of Buddha is still practised. General Cunningham possesses several old Indian as well as recent Indian and Chinese specimens.]

that the people of the fort will do despite to the cultivation of Budh. You are to-day a fortunate and a great man" Chach said, "The worship of Budh is most righteous, and ever to hold it in honour is most proper. But if you are in want of anything, tell me, for I shall consider it a privilege and a duty to provide for it." The devotee answered, "I do not want anything of this world from you. May God incline you to the affairs of the next." Chach said, "I also wish that my salvation may be the result. Direct me so that I may see where assistance is required, and I will help you." He exclaimed, "As you seem to be desirous of performing charitable and virtuous deeds, there is an old temple (called) Budh and Nau-vihār (at) Sāwandas<sup>1</sup> which has suffered much injury from the hand of time—it requires repair. You should spend some money in renewing its foundation, and I shall be thus benefited by you." Chach said, "By all means. I thank you, farewell."

*Chach returns to Brahmanabād*

Chach rode back from that place. The minister asked him, "O king, I have seen a wonder." "What is it?" said Chach. He remarked, "When you started you had resolved that I should order the soldiers to kill the devotee, but when you went before him you showed every wish to please him, and accepted all his prayers." Chach said, "Very true, I saw something which was no magic or charm, for when I looked at him, something came before my vision, and as I sat before him, I beheld a dreadful and horrible phantom standing at his head. Its eyes blazed like fire, and were full of anger, and its lips were long and thick, and its teeth resembled pikes. He had a spear in his hand, which shone like diamonds, and it appeared as if he was going to strike some one with it. When I saw him I was much afraid, and could not utter a word to him which you might hear. I wished to save my own life, so I observed him carefully and departed."

*Chach stays at Brahmanābād, and determines the amount of the revenue*

Chach stopped in the fort of Brahmanābād till all ministerial

<sup>1</sup> [A says نده و بوهار ساندہ تعبد گاہ قدیم است]

B says نده بوهار ساوندسي تعبد گاہ]

affairs were settled, taxes were fixed, and the subjects re-assured. He humiliated the Jats and the Lohānas, and punished their chiefs. He took a hostage from these chiefs, and kept him in the fort of Brahmanabād. He obliged them to agree to the following terms: That they should never wear any swords but sham ones. That they should never wear under-garments of shawl, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer-garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour. That they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered. That when they went out they should take their dogs with them. That they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanabād. They were to furnish guides and spies, and were to be faithful when employed in such offices. They were to live in amity with Sarband, son of Akham, and if any enemy came to invade the territory, or fight with Sarband, they were to consider it incumbent on them to assist him, and steadily adhere to his cause. He thus finished his labours, and established his rule. If any person showed rebellion or hostility, he took a hostage and exacted penalties until he should amend his conduct.

*Chach marches to Kirmán and defines the boundary of Makran*

When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirmán, which was adjacent to the possessions of the chiefs of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hyra of the Prophet of God,—may peace be to him. After the death of Kísra bin Hurmaz bin Fars, and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirmán with a considerable force. At an auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armábél, and when he arrived there the chief of the place came to receive him. He was a Buddhist priest, and had descended from the representatives of Rái Síharas, king of Hind, whom the Rái had raised up with great kindness and favour. From change of time he had become refractory, and had revolted from his allegiance. He came forth to meet Chach, when a treaty of friendship and alliance was established between them. It proceeded from thence to Makrán. Every chief there

his submission. When he had crossed the province of Makrán and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanarpúr<sup>1</sup>. He ordered it to be rebuilt, and according to the Hindú custom a naubat of five musical instruments, was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the people of the surrounding villages, and completed the building. He marched from this place towards Kirmán, and halted on the banks of a river which runs between that country and Makrán. There he fixed the eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makrán and Kirmán, and planted numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream, and he set up a mark, saying, "this was the boundary of Hind in the time of Chach bin Silájj bin Basábas"<sup>2</sup>. Now that boundary has come into our possession.

*Chach proceeds to Armábel<sup>3</sup> and fixes the revenue*

From that place he returned to Armábel, and having passed through the country of Túrín, he came out in the desert. No body arose to fight with him. He arrived in the country of Kandhábel, that is, Kandahar,<sup>4</sup> and having traversed that desert also, he advanced to the fort. The people took refuge in it. When he arrived at the banks of the Síni,<sup>5</sup> he pitched his tents there. The people of the place being much pressed agreed to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dirams, and one hundred hill horses. A treaty was made, and Chach returned to his capital Alor, and remained there till he died and went to hell. He reigned forty years.

*Chandar son of Silájj succeeds to the Government of Alor*

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar,<sup>6</sup> son of Silájj, sat upon the throne of Alor. He patronized the religion of the

<sup>1</sup> [A كيرپور. B كيرنور Kannazbúr, see Note A in Appendix.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Sabás" in B] <sup>3</sup> [A ارمابيل B ارماتيل]

<sup>4</sup> [This explanation is not in MS B]

<sup>5</sup> [A سپى B سى]

<sup>6</sup> [Mír Ma'súm takes no notice of Chandar, but the Tuhfatu-l Kirám says that he succeeded as *Kdim makam* and occupied the throne eight years. According to the former, Chach left two sons, Dálur and Dhar-sen, and a daughter Bái Rání. The Tuhfatu-l Kirám agrees in writing the name "Dhar-sen," but both MSS of the Chach-náma have "Dharsiya"]

násiks (Buddhists) and monks and promulgated their doctrines. He brought many people together with the sword, and made them return to his religion. He received several letters from the Chiefs of Hind.

*Journey of Matta, Chief of Siwistán*

When Matta, chief of Siwistán, went to the king of Kanauj, the country of Hindústan was in a flourishing condition. Kanauj was under the rule of Síharas, son of Rásal.<sup>1</sup> Matta went to him and represented thus: "Chach, son of Síláj, is dead, and his brother Chandar, a monk (*ráhīb*), has succeeded him. He is a devotee (*nasik*), and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury."

*The answer of Síharas*

Síharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his sway. As he is dead, I will bring his possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their divisions." Síharas then sent his brother Barhás, son of Kasáís. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmir and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hási,<sup>2</sup> where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Káhúya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection.

<sup>1</sup> [There are no names corresponding with these in the Genealogical tables of the Kanauj dynasty (Thomas' Prinsep II 258). General Cunningham is of opinion "that Síharas is probably the same as the Bhím Sen mentioned by the Chinese as *Ti-mo-si no*, King of Central India, in A.D. 692, and that the two names Síharas and Bhím Sen might easily be confounded when written in Persian letters." This, however, is very hypothetical. It is not unlikely that the prince of some other and nearer place than the great Kanauj is really intended, especially as his army is, as joining these of Kashmir and Ramal.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Hási" in B.]



*Chandar refuses, strengthens himself in the fort, and prepares to fight*

*Stharas sends an embassy to Dáhur, son of Chach*

*Chandar sits on the throne of Chach*

Chandar succeeded to the government, and his subjects enjoyed comfort, and the country was governed firmly during his reign, which lasted for seven years. He died in the eighth year, and Dáhur sat on the throne of Alor. Ráj, son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanábád, but did not maintain his government for more than one year. After that, Dharsiya, son of Chach, took possession of Brahmanábád and his sister Bái<sup>1</sup> was friendly and obedient to him. Dharsiya asked the daughter of Akham in marriage. He remained at Brahmanábád five years, and issued his orders to the neighbouring chiefs, who acknowledged his authority. Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Ráwar,<sup>2</sup> of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed. When Dharsiya had finished the works, and collected inhabitants for the town from the places in the neighbourhood, and when it was well populated, he called it Ráwar, and returned to Brahmanábád, and firmly established himself in the Government.

*Bái (Main) is sent to Alor for the purpose of being given in marriage to the king of Batia*

When Dharsiya was reflecting one day that his sister had arrived at a marriageable age, messengers arrived from Súban,<sup>3</sup> king of Bática, in the country of Ramal, to demand her in marriage. Dharsiya although he<sup>4</sup> was the elder brother, gave her a princely dowry, and sent her with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot to Dáhur, recommending him by letter to marry her to the king of Bática,<sup>5</sup> who had stipulated that he should receive a fort as her marriage portion. The messengers went to Alor, and remained there one month. (*Here follows an account of Dáhur marrying his sister because it was prognosticated that her husband would be king of Hind and Sind, and the contests between the brothers in consequence*.)

<sup>1</sup> [Mdin in MS A, Bái signifies "lady," and is much used as a respectful term instead of the name. "Main" is probably an error for "Bái," but it may possibly have been the real name of the princess.]

<sup>2</sup> [Alor in A., but Ráwar in B.]

<sup>3</sup> [Súrin in B.]

<sup>4</sup> [Dáhur?]

<sup>5</sup> So written here, but elsewhere Bática

*Rái Dáhr receives information.*

*Rái Dáhr goes to an astrologer to ascertain the fate of his sister.*

*The predictions of the astrologers*

*Consultation of Budhman, the minister, with Rái Dáhn.*

*Ingenuity of Budhman, the minister.*

*Dáhr sends a letter to Dharsiya*

*Dharsiya receives the letter.*

*Dáhr sends another letter to Dharsiya*

*Dharsiya marches to Alor to seize Dáhn*

*Endeavours of Dharsiya to take Dáhr prisoner.*

*Dáhr asks advice from his minister*

*Dharsiya enters the fort of Alor on an elephant*

*Dáhn is informed of the death of Dharsiya*

*The burning of Dharsiya's body*

*Dáhr goes to Bráhmanábád*

Dáhr remained one year in Brahmanábád, in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharsiya, and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwastán, and thence to the fort Ráwar,<sup>1</sup> of which his father Chach had laid the foundations, but the works were not completed when he died. He remained there for some time, and ordered that the fort should be finished. He remained there during the four hot months, for it is a pleasant place and has an agreeable climate, and he used to remain during the four cold and dark months at Brahmanábád. He passed his time in this manner for eight years, during which time he became confirmed and generally recognized in his dominions in Sind and Hind. The chiefs of Ramal became aware of his wealth both in treasure and elephants.

*The chiefs of Ramal come to fight with Rái Dáhr*

The chiefs advanced with a large and powerful army of horse and foot and war-elephants. They came, by way of Búdhiya, to the town (*rostá*) of Ráwar, and conquered it, and passed on from thence to Alor

o o o o o

<sup>1</sup> Here, again, it is doubtful if Alor or Ráwar be meant, nor does it appear how Dharsiya and Dáhr could both at different times be said to have completed the fort. [A says Alor, but B has Ráwar.]

*Muhammad 'Alláfi<sup>1</sup> (an Arab mercenary,) goes against the chiefs of Ramal*

Muhammad 'Alláfi, an Arab of the Banu Asámat, who had killed 'Abdu-r Rahmán son of Ash'ab, for having run away from battle, came to join Dáhir with five hundred Arabs

o o o o o

The 'Alláfi made a night attack on the Ramal troops with his five hundred Arabs and warriors of Hind, and fell upon them on all four sides with a great shout, and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and fifty elephants, besides horses and arms innumerable fell into their hands

o o o o o

Dáhir then told his good and judicious minister to ask a favour. The minister replied "I have no son who will carry down my name to posterity. I request, therefore, that orders may be given to have my name stamped on the silver coin of the realm, so that my name being on one face, and the king's on the other, it will not then be forgotten in Hind and Sind." Dáhir ordered that the minister's wish should be complied with.

*The history of the four first Khalifas*

*Mu'áwía bin Abú Sufián*

*Sannán bin Salma bin Ghúru-l Hindí*

*Ráshid bin 'Umaru-l Khizrí*

*Sannan bin Salma recovers the Government*

*Munzir bin Harúd bin Báshar*

*Hakkam bin Munzir*

*'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán*

*The 'Alláfis, etc*

*Mu'á'a bin Safar bin Yazíd bin Huzaiha*

*Walid bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán*

*Account of the presents sent to the Khalifa from Sarandíp*

*Hayyá sends a messenger to Dáhir, the Infidel*

*Hayyá obtains permission to leave the Capital*

*Budail suffers martyrdom*

<sup>1</sup> [This is the spelling of B MS A always has "'Alláfi."]

*'Imādu-d dīn Muhammad Kásim bin Abi 'Akil Sakifī*

*Hajjāj writes letters to the Capital and Syria*

*Hajjāj reads the Khutba on Friday*

*Departure of Muhammad Kásim.*

*The army arrives at Shiraz*

*Muhammad Kásim arrives at Mahrán*

*Hárún proceeds with Muhammad Kásim*

*The army marches from Armábel*

*The orders of Hajjāj reach Muhammad Kásim.*

*The Arab army makes preparations, and Hajjāj's orders arrive*

*The flag-staff of the temple of Debal is knocked down by a mangonel*

*Budhíman comes to Muhammad Kásim, and receives a promise of protection*

*A fifth portion of the booty in slaves and coins is set aside*

*The capture of Debal is reported to Rát Dáhir.*

*The letter of Rat Dahir*

*The reply of Muhammad Kásim to Rát Dáhir*

*Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Nirún after the conquest of Debal*

Historians have related, upon the authority of Banána bin Han-zala Kalábi, that after the conquest of Debal, where great plunder was taken, Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be placed on boats, and went towards the fort of Nirún. The boats went up the stream which they call Sindhí Ságar,<sup>1</sup> but he himself took the road of Sisam, and when he arrived there, he received Hajjāj's answer to the announcement of the victory

*The answer of Hajjāj to Muhammad Kásim*

*An account of the inhabitants of Nirún obtaining a passport from Hajjāj*

Historians relate that Abu Láís Tamímí says, on the authority of Ja'úba bin 'Akaba Salami, who accompanied Muhammad Kásim, that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad Kásim proceeded to the fort of Nirún, the inhabitants of which had provided themselves with an order of security from Hajjāj at the time that the army of the Arabs had been defeated, and Budail had been killed, and they had agreed

<sup>1</sup> [So in B MS A has "Wahind ságara"]

to pay a tribute He arrived at Nírún, which is twenty-five parasangs from Debal, in six days On the seventh day he encamped on a meadow near Nírún, which is called Balhár,<sup>1</sup> and the waters of the Sín<sup>2</sup> Míhrán had not yet reached it The army was parched with thirst, and Muhammad prayed to heaven for rain, and it fell, and filled all the streams and lakes near the city

\* \* \* \* \*

*Muhammad Kásim sends confidential messengers to Nírún*

*The Samaní, the Governor of Nírún, comes to pay his respects to  
Muhammad Kásim, and brings presents*

\* \* \* \* \*


Muhammad Kásim built at Nírún a mosque on the site of the temple of Budh, and ordered prayers to be proclaimed in the Muhammadan fashion, and appointed an Imám After remaining there some days, he prepared to go to Siwistán, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Míhrán He determined to conquer the whole country, and after the capture of Siwistán, to recross the river, and proceed against Dáhir God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled!

*The expedition to Siwistán*

After Muhammad Kásim had settled affairs at Nírún, he equipped his army, and under the guidance of the Samaní took it towards Siwistán. He arrived by regular stages at a place called Bahraj,<sup>3</sup> thirty parasangs from Nírún There also was a Samaní, who was chief of the rest of the inhabitants In the fort the nephew of Dáhir was governor, his name was Bajhrá, the son of Chandar All the Samanis assembled and sent a message to Bajhrá, saying, we are *ndsik* devotees Our religion is one of peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood. You are secure in a lofty place, while we are open to the

<sup>1</sup> ["Baláhar" in *B*]

<sup>2</sup> [*Sín* from the root *sik*, to flow is the proper name of the Jaxartes It is used here and in page 138 as a common noun for *river* The early Muhammadan writers frequently apply the term to the Indus, that river being to them *the river of India*]

<sup>3</sup> [So in *A*, but MS *B* has Mauj 

invasions of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects. We know that Muhammad Kásim holds a farmán from Hayy, to grant protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful, and keep their agreements. Bajhrá refused to listen to them. Muhammad Kásim sent spies to ascertain whether the citizens were unanimous or inimical. They reported that some armed men were outside the fort, and prepared to fight. Muhammad Kásim encamped opposite the gate leading to the sandy desert, because there was no opportunity to attack him there, as the inundation had risen on account of the rains, and the river Sindhu Rawal<sup>1</sup> flowed to the north of the selected ground.

### *Battle fought at Suristán*

Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be prepared, and the fight was commenced. The Samanís prevented their chief from fighting, and told him that the Muhammadan army was not to be overcome by him, and he would not be able to oppose it. He would be merely placing his life and property in danger. When he would not listen to the advice of his subjects, the Samanís sent this message to Muhammad Kásim —“All the subjects, farmers, and tradesmen, merchants, and the lower classes hate Bajhrá, and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you, or give battle.” The Muhammadan army were inspired with great courage on receiving the message, and fought day and night on the side of Muhammad Kásim. About a week after, the besieged stopped fighting, and when Bajhrá knew that the fort was about to fall, he came out from the northern gate, at the time when the world was veiled in darkness, crossed the river, and fled. He continued his flight till he reached the boundary of Budhiya. In those days the ruler of the Budhiya territory was Káka son of Kotal, a Samaní. His stronghold was Sisam, on the banks of the Kumbh. The people of Budhiya and the chiefs of the surrounding places came to receive Bajhrá, and allowed him to encamp under the fort.

<sup>1</sup> [A says: حوی سدد و راول روان شد. B سید راول.]

*Siwistán is taken and Bajhrá flies*

When Bajhrá went away, and the Samanís made submission, Muhammad Kásim entered the fort of Siwistán and gave quarter. He appointed his functionaries to discharge the civil duties of the territory, and brought the neighbouring places under his rule. He took the gold and silver wherever he found it, and appropriated all the silver, jewels, and cash. But he did not take anything from the Samanís, who had made terms with him. He gave the army their due, and having deducted a fifth part of the whole, delivered it to the treasurer of Hajjáj, and wrote a report of the victory to Hajjáj. He appointed Ráwats there. He also sent the plunder and the slaves to him, and he himself stopped at Siwistán. Two or three days after he had separated the fifth part, and distributed to the army their shares, he proceeded to the fort of Sísam, and the people of Búdhiya and the chief of Siwistán rose up to fight. Muhammad Kásim marched with all his force, except the garrison, which was placed under the officer left in Siwistán, and alighted at a place called Nílhan,<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the Kumbh. The inhabitants of the vicinity were all infidels, who assembled together as soon as they saw the Muhammadan army, and determined to make a night attack on it, and disperse it.

*The interview of the chiefs with Káka*

The chiefs of Budh went to Káka Kotal. The rānas of Búdhiya are descended from A'ú. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called A'undhar.<sup>2</sup> They consulted with him, and said that they had determined to make a night attack on the army.

*The reply of Káka*

Káka said—"If you can accomplish it, well and good, but the bah-

<sup>1</sup> ["Nídhán" in MS. B]

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Audhua on the Ghágra may be alluded to. [A says ک اوددهار کوید. B has ک اوددهار کوید. The او is probably the pronoun, and the name Dandhár or Dandahár, is possibly Dand-vihár. General Cunningham suggests that "Daundiakera or Daundhára may perhaps be the place intended. It is on the Ganges, and was the capital of the Bais Rájputs. Trilok Chand was the founder of this branch of the family, and the fourth in descent from him is Audhara Chand, who may be the Au mentioned in the text." See also Thomas' *Prinsep*, Table XXXIII.]

liks and monks have told me, according to their astrological books, that this country will be conquered by the Muhammadan army" He placed a chief, whose name was Pahan, at their head, and made gifts to the soldiers. There were one thousand brave fighting men under the command of this chief. They were all armed with swords, shields, javelins, spears, and daggers. When the army of the day fled for fear of the black legions of the night, they marched with the intention of making their night attack. As they approached the army of the Arabs, they missed the road, and were wandering about perplexed all the night from evening till daybreak. They were divided into four bodies, the one most advanced did not keep up a communication with that which was in the rear, nor did the left wing come in sight of the right, but they kept roving about in the desert. When they lifted up their heads they found themselves round the fort of Sisam<sup>1</sup>. When the darkness of night was expelled by the light of the king of the stars, they entered the fort, and told the whole to Káka Kotal, saying that thus their treacherous plan had not proved successful. Kaka said, "You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage. I have achieved many enterprises at your head, but in the books of the Budhs it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindustan shall be taken by the Muhammadans, and I also believe that this will come to pass."

*Kaka Kotal goes to Muhammad Kasim with Banána, son of Hanzala, and submits to him*

Káka with his followers and friends went to the army of the Arabs. When he had gone a little distance, Banána, son of Hanzala, whom Muhammad Kásim had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, met him and took him to Muhammad Kásim. When he obtained the honour of coming before Muhammad Kasim, this general expressed his satisfaction, and gave him some good counsel. Káka told him all about the Jats coming against him with the intention of making a night attack; and of their treacherous schemes. He also said that the Almighty God misled them in their way, so that they were wandering about the whole night in darkness and ohagrin, and that

<sup>1</sup> [Probably the village now called "Seisan" on Lake Manchar. May not the latter be the "Kumb" of p. 160? The word signifies "a waterpot," but its analogue *Kund* means "a lake"]



the astrologers and credible persons of his country had found out by their calculations of the stars that this country would be taken by the Muhammadan army. He had already seen this miracle, and he was sure that it was the will of God, and that no device or fraud would enable them to withstand the Muhammadans. "Be firm under all circumstances," said he, "and set your mind at ease. You will overcome them. I make my submission to you, and I will be your counsellor, and assist you to the extent of my power. I will be your guide in overpowering and subduing your enemies." When Muhammad Kásim had heard all he had to say, he praised the great God, and in giving thanks placed his head upon the earth. He comforted Káka and his dependants and followers, and promised him protection. He then asked him, "O chief of Hind, what is your mode of bestowing honour?" Káka said, "Granting a seat, and investing with a garment of silk, and tying a turban round the head. It is the custom of our ancestors, and of the Jat Samanís." When Káka had invested him with the dress, all the chiefs and head men of the surrounding places wished to submit to him. He dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance, and brought those to submission who were inimically disposed. 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Kaisu-d Dammání,<sup>1</sup> was appointed his lieutenant to punish all enemies and revolters. Kaka plundered a people who were wealthy, and took much booty in cash, cloths, cattle, slaves, and grain, so that cow's flesh was plentiful in the camp. Muhammad Kásim, having marched from that place, came to the fort of Sisam. There he fought for two days, and God granted him victory. The infidels fled, and Bajhá bin Chandar, uncle of Dáhir,<sup>2</sup> and many of the officers and nobles who were under his command, lost their precious lives. Of the rest some ran away far beyond the territory of Búdhíya, and some to the fort of Bahítlúr, between Sálúj and Kandhábel, and from that place solicited a written promise of protection. Those chiefs were enemies of Dáhir, and some of them had been slain—hence they revolted from him, and sent ambassadors, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirams weight of silver, and also sent hostages to Siwistán.

<sup>1</sup> [This name is doubtful in *A*, and quite unintelligible in *B*]

<sup>2</sup> [*A* says "Chandar bin Dáhir" *B* has "son of the uncle of Dáhir"]

*Orders are received from Hajjáj son of Yúsuf to cross the Míhran,  
and a battle is fought with Dáhur*

When Muhammad Kasim had fixed the several tributes of those chiefs, he gave them fresh written agreements for their satisfaction. He appointed there Hamíd, son of Widá'u'n Najdí and 'Abdu-l Kais, of the family of Járud, and as they were confidential persons he entrusted to them all the business of that place.

When he had settled the affairs of Sísam, he received orders from Hajjáj to proceed to some other place, to return to Nirun, take measures to cross the Míhrán, and fight with Dahur. He was directed to ask Almighty God for assistance in obtaining success and conquest, and after having obtained the objects of his expedition, he was to strengthen all the forts and places throughout the country, and leave none in an unprovided state. When Muhammad Kásim read the farmán, and understood its contents, he came to Nirún and transmitted his despatches.

*Arrival of the Army of the Arabs at Nirun*

After travelling over many stages, he halted at a fort which stands on the hill of Nirún. In the vicinity of it there is a reservoir, the water of which is purer than the eyes of lovers, and the meadows of it are more delightful than the gardens of Iram. He alighted there, and wrote a letter to Hajjáj son of Yúsuf.

*Muhammad Kasim's letter to Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, stating  
particulars*

is taken This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dahir Rái Some of the people who resisted have been taken prisoners, and the rest through fear have fled away As the imperative orders of Amir Hajjáj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nírún, which is very near to the capital It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken, and our treasures replenished The forts of Siwistan and Sísam have been already taken The nephew of Dáhir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islám or destroyed Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Khutba is read, the call to prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours The takbír and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening

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*The reply of Hajjaj is received by Muhammad Kasim*

*Muhammad Kasim hears that Dáhir Rai had proceeded to Nírún*

*Muhammad Kásim does honour to the Nírun Samant*

*Muhammad Kásim fights on the banks of the Míhrán*

*Moka bin Bisáya enters into terms with Muhammad Kásim*

*Banana bin Hanzala is sent to Moka bin Bisaya, and seizes him and his attendants*

Then Banána bin Hanzala went with his tribe and an interpreter to the place indicated, and seized Moka bin Bisáya,<sup>1</sup> together with his family and twenty well-known Takars<sup>2</sup> When Banána brought him before Muhammad Kásim, he was treated with kindness and respect, and the country of Bait was made over to him, and a grant

<sup>1</sup> [Chief of a large district, from the Sanskrit *Vishaya* The term is still used in Orissa and Nágpúr]

<sup>2</sup> I am doubtful if this is meant for *Thákurs*, or for *takra*, a word used in the West for a strong man. A little above, where Dharsiya sends his sister to Alor, the word is used apparently as a foot soldier, in opposition to a horseman In other places it is used in conjunction with governors and nobles [and so corresponds exactly with *thákur*]

was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand dirams were given to him as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair, and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takars were favoured with robes and saddled horses. Historians relate that the first umbrella of *Rdnagi*, or chiefship, which he gave, was this to Moka. At Moka's request, he gave the land and all the towns, fields, and dependencies within the borders of Bait, to him and his descendants, and having entered into a firm treaty with him, directed him to collect boats.

*Muhammad Kasim sends a Syrian Ambassador and Maulaná Islámi to Dáhir*

*The ambassadors reach Dáhir.*

When they came to Dáhir, Maulaná Islámi, of Debal, did not bow his head, or make any signs of reverence. Dáhir recognized him, and asked him why he failed in the usual respectful salutation, and enquired if any one had thrown obstacles in his way. The Maulaná of Debal replied, "When I was your subject it was right of me to observe the rules of obedience, but now that I am converted, and am subject to the king of Islam, it cannot be expected that I should bow my head to an infidel." Dáhir said, "If you were not an ambassador, I would punish you with death." The Maulaná replied, "If you kill me it will be no great loss to the Arabs, but they will avenge my death, and exact the penalty from you."

*The Syrian declares the object of his mission*

*Dáhir consults with Sisakar,<sup>1</sup> the minister*

*'Allafi offers advice to Dáhir*

*The ambassadors return to Muhammad Kasim with the answer of Dáhir Rát*

*Muhammad Kasim receives an order from Hájáj*

*Muhammad Kasim informs his friends of Hájáj's orders.*

*Rát Dáhir arrives at the banks of the Mihán*

*A Syrian is slain*

<sup>1</sup> [Sibákar, or Sijákar in B.]

*Mus'ab goes to Sucistán*

*Jaisiya son of Dáhir arrives at the fort of Bart*

*Rái Dáhir the infidel sends a message to Muhammad Sakifí*

*Tryár returns to Hajjáj from Muhammad Kásim*

*Hajjáj sends two thousand horses to Muhammad Kásim*

*Muhammad Kásim reads the orders of Hajjáj*

*Hajjáj sends some vinegar to Muhammad Kásim*

*The orders of Hajjáj reach Muhammad Kasim on the western bank of the Míhrán*

*Rái Dahir confers with the Samaní, his minister, on Muhammad Kasim's preparations for crossing the river*

*Muhammad Kásim prepares to cross to the eastern bank with his army*

Muhammad Kásim had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rái Dáhir might come to the banks of the Míhrán with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaimán bin Tihan Kuraishí to advance boldly with his troops against the fort,<sup>1</sup> in order that Fúfí<sup>2</sup> son of Dáhir, should not be able to join his father. Sulaimán accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tifí to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance, in order to cover Gandáva<sup>3</sup> and he ordered the Samaní, who was chief of Nirún, to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r rahmán was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. He placed Namáma<sup>4</sup> bin Hanzala Kalábi in the centre with a thousand men, and ordered Zakwán bin 'Ulwán al Bíkri with 1500 men to attend on Moka Bisáya, chief of Bart, and

<sup>1</sup> [MS. *A* is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror,"—

فرمود که ترا با لشکر خود بعروړ او در مقابل حصار ارور نائست

*B*'s version is [تو با لشکر خود بعروړ و در مقابل حصار رود نایست]

<sup>2</sup> [MS. *A* writes the name "Kúfi," but *B* has "Fúfi," and so has the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. In this, as generally in other variants, each MS maintains its own spelling throughout. See *Mem sur l'Inde*, 191.]

<sup>3</sup> [کداند همه in *A* کداره in *B*]

<sup>4</sup> [So in both MSS.]

the Bhetí Thakurs and the Jats of Ghazní, who had made submission and entered the Arab service, were told to remain at Ságara and the island of Bait

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*Muhammad Kásim examines the fords*

*Dahr hears that Moka Bísúya had collected boats*

*Dahr gives the government of Bait to Rasíl*

o o o o o o o

When Muhammad Kasim had collected his boats and began to join them together, Rasíl with his officers and chiefs came to the opposite bank and prevented the completion of the bridge and the passage of the river. Muhammad Kasim thereupon ordered that the boats should all be brought to the western bank, and be there joined together, to a distance equal to the estimated breadth of the Múhrín. He then placed his warriors fully armed upon the boats and let the herd of the bridge, which was full of archers, float down to the eastern bank. The archers drove off the infidels who were posted to guard the passage. So the Arabs passed over to the other side, and driving pegs into the earth, made the bridge fast. The horse and foot then crossed and, giving battle, put the infidels to flight, and pursued them as far as the gates of Jham.

*Dáhr awakes and kills his chamberlain for bringing him news of the flight of the infidels and the victory of Islám*

### *The Arab army advances*

The Arab army marched on till it reached the fort of Bait, and all the horsemen were clad in iron armour. Pickets were posted in all directions, and orders were given to dig an entrenchment round the camp, and to deposit the baggage there. Muhammad Kásim then advanced from the fort of Bait towards Ráwar, till he arrived at a place called Jewar<sup>1</sup> (Jaipur). Between Ráwar and Jowar (Jaipur) there was a lake,<sup>2</sup> on which Dahr had stationed a select body of troops to reconnoitre.

<sup>1</sup> [In MS A this is written جیور in the first instance, and in the second Chítár B has حیور in both cases. See page 169.]

<sup>2</sup> ["*Ahaly*." It is subsequently called an "*ab-gír*."] ۛ

*Dáhir makes a request of Muhammad 'Alláfi*<sup>1</sup>

*The answer of 'Alláfi, and his dismissal by Dáhir*

*Muhammad Kasim grants 'Alláfi a safe passage*

*Dáhir confers with 'Alláfi*

*Letters pass between Muhammad Kasim and Hajjáj*

*Dáhir sends Jaisiya to reconnoitre*

*First fight with the accursed Dáhir*

### *Treaty of Rasil with Muhammad Kasim*

Rásil, after showing marks of respect and offering promises of fidelity, said, "No one can oppose the will of the Almighty God As you have bound me by your obligations, I shall after this be at your service, and will never contravene your wishes I shall obey whatever may be your orders" After a short time Rásil lost his position, and the management of the country devolved upon Moka. Rásil and Moka agreed in opinion, and advised Muhammad Kásim to march He accordingly set out from that place and reached a village which is called Nárání. Dáhir was at Kájíát.<sup>2</sup> They saw that between them and Dáhir's camp there was a large lake, which was very difficult to cross Rasil said,—“May the most just and religious noble live long It is necessary to cross this lake” Rasil obtained a boat, and sent three men across at a time, till the whole army crossed over, and took post on a bay Rásil said, “If you will advance one stage more, you will arrive at Jewar (Jaipúr), on the banks of the Wadháwáh<sup>3</sup> This is a village suitable for your encampment and is the same distance from the camp of Dáhir as it is from here There you may attack him both in front and rear, and successfully enter into his position and occupy it.” Muhammad Kásim approved of the advice, and reached Jewar (Jaipúr) and the Wadháwáh

### *Arrival of Muhammad Kasim at Jewar (Jaipur)*

Intelligence was brought to Rásil Dáhir that Muhammad Kásim with the Arab army had reached Jewar (Jaipúr), and when his minister Sísakar<sup>4</sup> heard of it, he said, “Alas! we are lost. That

<sup>1</sup> [This name is always written “'Allání” in MS A]

<sup>2</sup> [B “Kájíát”] <sup>3</sup> [“Dadháwáh” B]

<sup>4</sup> [“Sísakar” B]

place is called Jaipúr,<sup>1</sup> or the town of victory, and as the army has reached that place, it will be successful and victorious" Dáhir Rái took offence at these words. The fire of indignation blazed out in his mind, and he said with anger, "He has arrived at Hindbári,<sup>2</sup> for it is a place where his bones shall lie." Dáhir left the place, and with precipitation went into the fort of Ráwar. He placed his dependants and baggage in the fort, and himself went out to a place which was a parasang's distance from the Arabs. Dáhir then said to an astrologer, "I must fight to-day, tell me in what part of the heavens the planet Venus is, and calculate which of the two armies shall be successful, and what will be the result."

### *Prediction of the Astrologer*

After the computation, the astrologer replied,—“According to the calculation, the victory shall be to the Arab army, because Venus is behind him and in front of you.” Rái Dáhir was angry on hearing this. The astrologer then said, “Be not angered, but order an image of Venus to be prepared of gold.” It was made, and fastened to his saddle-straps, in order that Venus might be behind him, and he be victorious. Muhammad Kasim drew nearer, and the interval between both armies was only half a parasang.

*Fight of the second day*

*Dahir fights the third day with the Arab army*

*Fight of the fourth day*

*Fight of the fifth day*

*The array of the army of Islám*


*Muhammad Kásim Sakifí reads the Khutba*

*Muhammad Kasim exhorts his soldiers*

*The Arab army charges the Infidels*

*Shuja' Habsht becomes a martyr*

*Muhammad Kásim charges in the name of God*

<sup>1</sup> It is generally Jewar, [but here we have چتور Chitúr in A]  expl shows it must be Jaipúr

<sup>2</sup> [Haddí from hadí, a bone? MS B leaves a blank for



*The accursed Dáhir is slain*

Historians have related that Dáhir was slain at the fort of Ráwar at sunset, on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazán, in the year 93 (June, 712 A D) Abú-l Hasan relates upon the authority Abu-l Laus Híndi, who heard it from his father, that when the army of Islám made the attack, and most of the infidels were slain, a noise arose upon the left, and Dáhir thought it came from his own forces. He cried out, "Come hither, I am here." The women then raised their voices, and said, "O king, we are your women, who have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, and are captives." Dáhir said, "I live as yet, who captured you?"<sup>1</sup> So saying, he urged his elephant against the Musulmán army. Muhammad Kásim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man, in obedience to this direction, shot his naphtha arrow into Dáhir's howda, and set it on fire. Dáhir ordered his elephant driver to turn back, for the elephant was thirsty, and the howda was on fire. The elephant heeded not his driver, but dashed into the water, and in spite of all the efforts of the man, refused to turn back. Dáhir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves. Some of the infidels went into the water with them, and some stood upon the banks, but when the Arab horsemen came up, they fled. After the elephant had drunk water, he wanted to return to the fort. The Muhammadan archers plied their weapons, and a rain of arrows fell around. A skilful bowman aimed an arrow, which struck Dáhir in the breast (*bar dil*), and he fell down in the howda upon his face. The elephant then came out of the water and charged. Some of the infidels who remained were trampled under foot, and the others were dispersed. Dáhir got off his elephant, and confronted an Arab, but this brave fellow struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head, and cleft it to his neck. The Muhammadans and infidels closed and maintained a deadly fight, until they reached the fort of Ráwar. When the Brahmans who had gone into the water found the place of Dáhir's fall deserted, they came out and hid the body of Dáhir under the bank. The white elephant turned towards the army of the infidels, and no trace was left.

<sup>1</sup> [Such is the reading of B *شمارا که کرب* A says, *شما که نکرت*]

*Proclamation issued by Muhammad Kásim*

*How Ládi the wife of Dáhir was taken*

*Muhammad Kásim writes an account of the death of Dáhir to Hayyaj*

*The head of Dáhir is sent to 'Irák*

*Hayyaj gives his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Kasim*

*Hayyaj reads the Khutba in the Masjid Jámí' of Kífa*

*Hayyaj sends an answer to Muhammad Kasim's account of his victory*

*The relatives of Dáhir Ráz who were carried away captives*

*Jaisiya enters the fort of Rawar and prepares to fight*

The historians concur in the narration that when Dáhir was killed, his son and Rání Báí<sup>1</sup> (who was Dáhir's sister, but whom he had made his wife,) went into the fort of Ráwar with his army, relations, and nobles, and took refuge in it. Jaisiya, who was proud of his courage, power, and dignity, prepared to fight. Muhammad 'Alláfi was also with him. When the news of the death of Dáhir arrived, and that the white elephant was hamstrung, Jaisiya son of Dáhir said that he would go to oppose the enemy, and strike a blow to save his honour and name, for it would be no loss if he were to be slain. Sísákar, the minister, observed that the resolve of the prince was not good, the king had been killed, the army defeated and dispersed, and their hearts were averse to battle through fear of the enemy's sword. How could he go to fight with the Arabs? His dominions still existed and the strongest forts were garrisoned with brave warriors and subjects. It was, therefore, advisable that they should go to the fort of Brahmanábad, which was the inheritance of his father and ancestors. It was the chief residence of Dáhir. The treasures and stores were full, and the inhabitants of the place were friends and well wishers of the family of Chach, and would all assist in fighting against the enemy. Then the 'Alláfi was also asked what he considered proper. He replied that he concurred in this opinion. So Jaisiya assented, and with all their dependants and trusty servants, they went to Brahmanabád. Báí

<sup>1</sup> [MS. A still reads Máin.]

(Máin), the wife of Dáhur, together with some of the generals, prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort, and fifteen thousand warriors were counted. They had all resolved to die. Next morning, when it was learnt that Dáhir had been killed between the Mihrán and the stream called Wadháwáh,<sup>1</sup> all the chiefs (Ráwats) and officers who were attached to the Rání entered the fort. Muhammad Kásim, on receiving the intelligence, marched in that direction, and encamped under the walls. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions, and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins.

*The fort is taken and Bat (Main), the sister of Dáhur, burns herself*

Muhammad Kásim disposed his army, and ordered the miners to dig and undermine the walls. He divided his army into two divisions, one was to fight during the day with mangonels, arrows, and javelins, and the other to throw naphtha, fardáj (?), and stones during the night. Thus the bastions were thrown down. Bái (Máin), the sister of Dáhur, assembled all her women, and said, "Jaisiya is separated from us, and Muhammad Kásim is come. God forbid that we should owe our liberty to these outcast cow-eaters! Our honour would be lost! Our respite is at an end,<sup>2</sup> and there is nowhere any hope of escape, let us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire, and burnt themselves. Muhammad took the fort, and stayed there for two or three days. He put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword, and shot some with arrows. The other dependants and servants were taken prisoners, with their wives and children.

*Detail of the slaves, cash, and stuffs, which were taken*

It is said that when the fort was captured, all the treasures, property, and arms, except those which were taken away by Jaisiya, fell into the hands of the victors, and they were all brought before Muhammad Kásim. When the number of the prisoners was calcu-

<sup>1</sup> ["Dadháwáh" B]

<sup>2</sup> [This passage is taken from B. MS. A is unintelligible.]

lated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs, and one of them was Rái Dahir's sister's daughter, whose name was Jaisiya<sup>1</sup> They were sent to Haggáj. The head of Dahir and the fifth part of the prisoners were forwarded in charge of K'alb, son of Mahárák. When the head of Dahir, the women, and the property all reached Haggáj, he prostrated himself before God, offered thanksgivings and praises, for, he said, he had in reality obtained all the wealth and treasures and dominions of the world.

*Haggaj sends the head of Dahir, and some of his standards, to the Capital*

Haggaj then forwarded the head, the umbrellas, and wealth, and the prisoners to Walid the Khalífa. When the Khalífa of the time had read the letter, he praised Almighty God. He sold some of those daughters of the chiefs, and some he granted as rewards. When he saw the daughter of Rái Dahir's sister, he was much struck with her beauty and charms, and began to bite his finger with astonishment. 'Abdu-llah bin 'Abbás desired to take her, but the Khalífa said, "O my nephew! I exceedingly admire this girl, and am so enamoured of her, that I wish to keep her for myself. Nevertheless, it is better that you should take her to be the mother of your children." By his permission, therefore, 'Abdu-llah took her. She lived a long time with him, but no child was born from her. Afterwards, another letter was received about the capture of the fort of Ráwar. It is said that after the conquest was effected, and the affairs of the country were settled and the report of the conquest had reached Haggaj, he sent a reply to the following effect: "O my cousin, I received your life-inspiring letter. I was much pleased and overjoyed when it reached me. The events were recounted in an excellent and beautiful style, and I learnt that the ways and rules you follow are conformable to the Law. Except that you give protection to all, great and small alike, and make no difference between enemy and friend. God says,—Give no quarter to Infidels, but cut their throats." "Then know that this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it

<sup>1</sup> [MS. B has "Haana"]

will prolong your work After this, gave no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank This is a worthy resolve, and want of dignity will not be imputed to you<sup>1</sup> Peace be with you!"—Written at Náfa', A H 73

*Jaisiya sends letters from Brahmanábád to Aloi,<sup>2</sup> Bātiya, and other places*

Some historians from amongst the religious Brahmans have narrated respecting the death of Dahir and adventures of Muhammad Kásim, that when the accursed Raí Dáhir went to hell, Jaisiya took refuge in the fort of Brahmanábád, and Ráwar was taken, Jaisiya made preparations for war and sent letters in all directions, viz. One to his brother Fúfi,<sup>3</sup> son of Dáhir, who was in the fort of the capital of Aror, the other to his nephew Chach, son of Dharsiya, in the fort of Bātiya, and the third to his cousin, Dhawal, son of Chandar, who was in the direction of Budhiya and Karkánán. He informed them of Dáhir's death and consoled them. He himself was in Brahmanábád with his warriors ready to fight.

*Battle of Bahrúr and Dhalila*

Muhammad Kásim now determined to march to Brahmanábád. Between Ráwar and that city there were two fortresses called Bahrur<sup>4</sup> and Dhalila which contained about sixteen thousand fighting men When Muhammad Kásim reached Bahrúr he besieged it for two months After the war had been protracted so long, Muhammad Kásim ordered that part of his army should fight by day and part by night They threw naphtha and plied their mangonels so that all the warriors of the adverse party were slain, and the walls of the fort thrown down Many slaves and great plunder were taken. They put the fifth part of it into the public treasury When the news of the capture of Ráwar and Bahrúr reached Dhalila, the inhabitants knew that Muhammad Kásim possessed great perseverance, and that they should be on their guard against him. The merchants fled to

هیچ دشمن را امان مده الا همکسان را بررگت است رای و فتورا<sup>1</sup>  
 شوکت حمل کند A negative seems to be required ]

<sup>2</sup> [ارور]

<sup>3</sup> ["Kúfi" always in A ]

<sup>4</sup> [See p 122 ]

Hind, and the men of war prepared to defend their country. At last, Muhammad Kásim came to Dhalila, and encamped there for two months, more or less. When the besieged were much distressed, and they knew that from no quarter could they receive reinforcements, they put on the garments of death, and anointed themselves with perfumes. They sent out their families into the fort which faces the bridge, and they crossed over the stream of the Naljak,<sup>1</sup> without the Musulmáns being aware of it.

*The flight of the chief of Dhalila*

When the day dawned through the veil of darkness Muhammad Kásim learnt that they had fled, so he sent some men of his army after them, who overtook part of them as they were passing over the river and put them to the edge of the sword. Those who had crossed previously fled to Hindustán through the country of Rimal and the sandy desert to the country (*bildā*) of Sír, the chief of which country was named Deoráj. He was the son of the uncle of Dahir Rái.

*Dhalila conquered, and a fifth part of its booty sent to the capital of the Khalifa*

When Muhammad Kásim had fought the battle of Dhalila and conquered, the fifth part of the plunder was deposited in the treasury to be sent to the capital, and he sent a report of the conquest of Bahrúr and Dhalila to Hajjáj, with all the particulars.

*Arrival of Sisakar, the minister, to seek protection*

Muhammad Kásim sent letters to the chiefs of the different parts of Hind, and invited them to make submission, and embrace Islám. When Sisakar, minister of Dahir, heard of this, he sent some confidential servants, and sued for protection. He brought the Muhammadan women who were in his possession, and said that they were those women who cried out for help to Hajjáj.<sup>2</sup>

*Sisakar appointed Minister*

Muhammad Kásim showed him much respect, officers to receive him. He paid him great h<sup>u</sup>.

with much kindness, and conferred upon him the office of Wazir Sísákar now became the counsellor of the Muhammadans Muhammad Kásim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him on all the civil affairs of the government, his political measures, and the means of prolonging his success He used to say to Muhammad Kásim that the regulations and ordinances which the just Amír had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies, for he comforts all the subjects and málguzárs, takes the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burthens any one with new and additional exactions, and instructs all his functionaries and officers

*The government of Dhalíla conferred on Núba, son of Dharan son of Dhalíla*<sup>1</sup>

It is said by some people that when Dhalíla was conquered, Muhammad Kásim called Núba, son of Dháran, and having made a compact with him, invested him with honours, and conferred on him the entire governorship of the fort, and its dependencies from the eastern to the western boundaries From that place to Brahmanábád there was distance of one parasang Jaisiya, son of Dáhur, received intelligence that the Muhammadan army was coming

*The Arab army arrives at the banks of the lake of Jalwál, and an ambassador is sent to invite the people to embrace Islam*

Muhammad Kásim marched from Dhalíla, and encamped on the banks of the stream of the Jalwál<sup>2</sup> to the east of Brahmanábád He sent some confidential messengers to Brahmanábád to invite its people to submission and to the Muhammadan faith, to preach to them Islám, to demand the Jizya, or poll-tax, and also to inform them that if they would not submit, they must prepare to fight Jaisiya, son of Dáhur, before the arrival of the messengers, had gone to Chanír<sup>3</sup> He had chosen sixteen men from among the chiefs of that city, and had placed four of these men as wardens at each of

<sup>1</sup> [This last name is not in MS A]

<sup>2</sup> [The "Falail"?]

<sup>3</sup> ["Janír" in B] He appears ubiquitous, and his proceedings do not appear to be related in chronological order This place may be also read Chansur, and it seems to be the same as the Chaucsar which follows in page 179

the four gates of the city, with a part of his army. One of these gates was called Jawetari and four men were stationed at it. One of them was Bhiárand, the other Sátyá, the third Máliya,<sup>1</sup> and the fourth Sálha.

*Muhammad Kásim arrives there in the beginning of the month of Rajab*

When Muhammad Kásim reached there, he ordered entrenchments to be dug. The battle commenced on Saturday, the first of Rajab. The infidels came out every day, and engaged and beat their drums. There were about forty thousand fighting men. From the dawn of day till sunset the battle was fought with great fury on both sides. When the king of the stars disappeared they also returned. The Muhammadans entered their entrenchments, and the infidels went into their fort. Six months passed in this manner. Kásim despaired of taking the fort, and became very pensive. On Sunday, in the end of the Zí-l Hijja, A H 93 (October, 712 A D), Jaisiya, who had fled to the country of Ramal, which is called Bátaya, came back from that place, infested the roads, and distressed the Muhammadan army.

*A messenger sent to Moka*

Muhammad Kásim despatched one of his confidential servants to Moka Bisáya, and informed him that he was perpetually harassed by Jaisiya, who prevented the supply of fodder, and put him to great trouble. He enquired the remedy. Moka said that as Jaisiya was very near, there was no alternative but that he should be made to depart. So he sent from his own force a large body of trusty men to drive him off.

*Jaisiya goes to Jaiyún<sup>2</sup>*

Banána, son of Hanzala Kalabí, 'Atíyá Sa'lbí, Sáram son of Abú Saram Hamadání, and 'Abdu-l Malík Madanní, with their horsemen, and Moka Bisáya at their head, and also Jazim, son of 'Umar Wáladíhi were sent with an army and supplies of provisions

<sup>1</sup> ["Manúra" in B]

<sup>2</sup> [Both MSS here have "Jatrúr" A few lines further on A has "  
B keeps to "Jatrúr" See note in p 169]



Jaisiya was informed of the march of the Arab army. He therefore left his place with all his property and family, and went by way of the sandy desert to the places called Jankan, 'Awará, and Káyá, in the territory of Jaipúr. The 'Alláfi deserted him. He thence proceeded to the territory of Tákiya, and went away and determined to do homage to the king of Kashmir, which is towards Rostá on the boundary of Royam. This territory is all waste and desert. From that place he wrote to the Rái, whose capital lay amidst the hills. He stated that of his own free will, and with a sincere heart, he had come to wait upon him.

*Jaisiya son of Dahn goes to the Ráná*

The letter was read before the Rái of Kashmir, who issued orders that, from among the dependencies of Kashmir, a place called Shákalhá<sup>1</sup> should be assigned to Jaisiya.

*The Rái of Kashmín gives presents to Jaisiya son of Dáhir*

The day on which they met, the Rái of Kashmir gave fifty horses with saddles, and two hundred valuable suits of apparel to his officers. Hamím, son of Sáma the Syrian, was sent to the fief of Shákalhá. When he went a second time to see the Rái of Kashmir, he was again received with great respect and honour, and an umbrella, a chair, and other presents were given to him. These are honours which are bestowed upon great kings. With great respect and ostentation he was re-conducted to his tenure in the plains. After staying there some time he expired in Shákalhá, and was succeeded by Hamím, son of Sáma, whose descendants remain there to this day. He founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmir. When Jaisiya<sup>2</sup> went to Jaipúr, and stayed there, he wrote letters to Fúfi, son of Dáhir, at Alor. He informed him of the cause of his

<sup>1</sup> [See also p. 144. Gen. Cunningham thinks that this may possibly be "Kuller-Kabar," in the Salt range which at this time belonged to Kashmir.]

<sup>2</sup> [It is difficult to say who is meant in the preceding passages. Jaisiya is mentioned by name in the heading of the chapter, but his name does not occur again until this place. This passage begins—

پس جیسوہ ملکہ چتور (جتور B) رفت و مقام کرد]

leaving the country, and advised him to hold out in that part Fúfi, son of Dáhur, received much encouragement on reading the letter, and on learning that he had gone away to Jaipúr

When Muhammad Kásim had fought for six months at Brahman-ábád, and war was protracted for a long time, and the news of Jaisiya was received from Chanesar,<sup>1</sup> four of the chief merchants of the city consulted together at the gate of the fort, which is called Jawetari.<sup>2</sup> They said the Arabs have conquered the whole territory, Dáhur has been killed, Jaisiya is king, and the fort has been besieged for a space of six months, we have neither power nor wealth to enable us to fight with the enemy, nor can we make peace with him. If he stay a few days more, he will at last be victorious, and we have no ground on which to ask protection from him. We are not able to stand any more before that army, we should, therefore, now join together, and sallying out attack Kásim, or be slain in the attempt, for if peace be made, all those found in arms will be slain, but all the rest of the people, the merchants, the handicraftsmen, and the cultivators, will find protection. And if they could get any assurance, it was better, they said, to make terms and surrender the fort to him. He would take them under his protection, and they would find him their supporter if they would follow rules of allegiance. To this opinion they all agreed. They sent their messengers, and craved for themselves and their families exemption from death and captivity.

*Protection granted to them on their faithful promises of allegiance*

Muhammad Kásim granted them protection on their faithful promises, but put the soldiers to death, and took all their followers and dependants prisoners. All the captives, up to about thirty years of age, who were able to work, he made slaves, and put a price upon them.<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Kásim called all the chief officers of Hajjáj together, and related the message to them, saying that

<sup>1</sup> [حيسر A چيسر B]

<sup>2</sup> ["Jaretari" B]

<sup>3</sup> [وهر برده که ار مصعیت تا قرب سی سال در قید و اعلال کشد و مال برایشان معین کردند]

ambassadors had come from Brahmanabád, and it should be heard what they had to say, and a proper answer should be carefully prepared and given to them

*Opinion of Moka Bisáya.*

Moka Bisáya said, "O noble man! this fort is the chief of all the cities of Hind. It is the seat of the sovereign. If this be taken, the whole of Sind will come into your possession. The strongest forts will fall, and the dread of our power will increase. The people will sever themselves from the descendants of Dáhir, some will run away, and others submit to your rule."

*Muhammad Kásim's communication to Hajjáj*

Muhammad Kásim informed Hajjáj of all the circumstances, and furnished those people with his written orders. He fixed the time with them, and they said that on the day named he should come to the Jawetari<sup>1</sup> gate, from which they would sally out to fight, but when they should come near him, and the Arab army should attack them, they would fly away in the midst of the battle, go into the fort, and leave the gate open. After an answer was received from Hajjáj, to the effect that Kásim should give them protection, and faithfully execute the compact made with them, the people of the fort fought for a short time, and when the Arabs attacked them, and engaged, they fled and entered the fort, leaving the gate open.<sup>2</sup> The Arabs thus got possession of it, and the whole army followed and mounted the walls. The Muhammadans then loudly shouted "Alláh Akbar," and the people of the fort, seeing the Musulmans victorious, opened the eastern gate, and fled with precipitation. The Muhammadans thus gained the victory, but Muhammad Kásim ordered them to kill none but those who showed fight. They seized all who had arms, and brought them prisoners before Muhammad Kásim, with all their arms and property, dependants, and families. Everyone who bowed down his head and sued for protection was released, and allowed to occupy his own house.

<sup>1</sup> ["Jaretari," B.]

<sup>2</sup> This is not clear, but it appears that the citizens betrayed the garrison.

*Resistance made by Jaisiya<sup>1</sup> and the wife of Dáhu*

It is said, on the authority of the old men of Brahmanábád, that when the fort of Brahmanábád was taken, Ládi, the wife of Dáhu Rai, who since Dáhu's death had staid in the fort with his son,<sup>2</sup> rose up and said, "How can I leave this strong fort and my family It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, and preserve our homes and dwellings If the army of the Arabs should be successful, I must pursue some other course She then brought out all her wealth and treasures, and distributing them among the warriors of the army, she thus encouraged her brave soldiers while the fight was carried on at one of the gates She had determined that if the fort should be lost, she would burn herself alive with all her relations and children Suddenly the fort was taken, and the nobles came to the gate of Dáhu's palace and brought out his dependants Ládi was taken prisoner

*Ládi, the wife of Dáhu is taken, with his two maiden daughters*

When the plunder and the prisoners of war were brought before Kásim, and enquiries were made about every captive, it was found that Ládi, the wife of Dáhu, was in the fort with two daughters of his by his other wives Veils were put on their faces, and they were delivered to a servant to keep them apart One-fifth of all the prisoners were chosen and set aside, they were counted as amounting to twenty thousand in number, and the rest were given to the soldiers

*Protection is given to the artificers*

Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants, and the common people, and those who had been seized from those classes were all liberated. But he (Kásim) sat on the seat of cruelty, and put all those who had fought to the sword It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to some, sixteen thousand were killed, and the rest were pardoned

*The relations of Dáhu are betrayed by the Brahmans*

It is related that when none of the relations of Dáhu were found

<sup>1</sup> [Sic in both MSS]

<sup>2</sup> "son of the Rái" [پسر رایی]

among the prisoners, the inhabitants of the city were questioned respecting them, but no one gave any information or hint about them. But the next day nearly one thousand Brahmans, with shaven heads and beards, were brought before Kásim

*The Brahmans come to Muhammad Kásim*

When Muhammad Kásim saw them, he asked to what army they belonged, and why they had come in that manner. They replied, "O faithful noble! our king was a Brahman. You have killed him, and have taken his country, but some of us have faithfully adhered to his cause, and have laid down our lives for him, and the rest, mourning for him, have dressed themselves in yellow clothes, and have shaved their heads and beards. As now the Almighty God has given this country into your possession, we have come submissively to you, just Lord, to know what may be your orders for us." Muhammad Kásim began to think, and said, "By my soul and head, they are good, faithful people. I give them protection, but on this condition, that they bring hither the dependents of Dáhir, wherever they may be." Thereupon they brought out Ládi. Muhammad Kásim fixed a tax upon all the subjects, according to the laws of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax,<sup>1</sup> and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades. The first grade was of great men, and each of these was to pay silver, equal to forty-eight dirams in weight, the second grade twenty-four dirams, and the lowest grade twelve dirams. It was ordered that all who should become Musulmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and poll-tax. Some showed an inclination to abide by their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held by the faith of their forefathers,<sup>2</sup> but their lands and property were not taken from them.

<sup>1</sup> ["*Bandagi wa mál wa gazid*," or "*gazand*," as *A* has it]

<sup>2</sup> *نعمی ارایشان بر اقامت معاودت نمودند و بعضی دل بر کزید* [The word *mu'dawadat* is found only in *B*]  
 بهادند و برکیش اسلاف میروند

*Brahmanabad is given into the charge of the prefects of the country*

Muhammad Kasim then allotted to each of the prefects an amount of revenue suited to his ability and claims. He stationed a force at each of the four gates of the fort, and gave the charge of them (to the prefects). He also gave them as tokens of his satisfaction saddled horses, and ornaments for their hands and feet, according to the custom of the kings of Hind. And he assigned to each of them a seat in the great public assemblies.

*Division of the people into three classes—artizans, merchants, and agriculturists*

All people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately into their respective classes, and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted. Muhammad Kásim then ordered twelve diram's weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered. He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and villages, that there might be a feeling of strength and protection. When the Brahmans saw this, they represented their case, and the nobles and principal inhabitants of the city gave evidence as to the superiority of the Brahmans. Muhammad Kásim maintained their dignity, and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Kásim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Rai Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmans to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dáhir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice, that favours and rewards

*The Brahmans go with great confidence into the villages*

Then the Brahmans and the government officers went into the districts, and said, "Oh chiefs and leaders of the people, you know for certain that Dáhir is slain, and that the power of infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is firmly established, and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals, both in town and country. The great Sultan has shown favour to us humble individuals, and ye must know that he has sent us to you, to hold out great inducements. If we do not obey the Arabs we shall neither have property nor means of living. But we have made our submission in hope that the favour and kindness of our masters may be increased to us. At present we are not driven from our homes, but if you cannot endure this tribute which is fixed on you, nor submit to the heavy burden, then let us retire at a suitable opportunity to some other place of Hind or Sind, with all your families and children, where you may find your lives secure. Life is the greatest of all blessings. But if we can escape from this dreadful whirlpool, and can save our lives from the power of this army, our property and children will be safe."

*Taxes are fixed upon the inhabitants of the city*

Then all the inhabitants of the city attended and agreed to pay the taxes. They ascertained the amount from Muhammad Kásim. And in respect of the Brahmans whom he had appointed revenue managers over them, he said, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan, and if distribution is required make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves, and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."

*Muhammad Kasim admonishes the people*

Muhammad Kásim admonished every man separately, and said, "Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown you. And whatever

may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied.

*Muhammad Kasim gives an order in favour of the people of Brahmanabad*

The Brahmanas did not receive the alms which were given to them according to the old custom by the merchants, the infidels, and the others who took delight in worshipping the idols. The attendants of the temples were likewise in distress. For fear of the army, the alms and bread were not regularly given to them, and therefore they were reduced to poverty. They came to the gate of his palace and lifted up their hands in prayer. They said, "May you live long, oh just lord! We people obtain our livelihood and maintenance by keeping the temple of Budh. You showed mercy upon the merchants and the infidels, confirmed them in their property and made them *minnis* (tolerated subjects). Hence we, your slaves, relying upon your bounty, hope permission may be given for them to worship their gods, and repair the temple of Budh." Muhammad Kasim replied, "The seat of government is Alor, and all these other places are dependencies of it." The Hindús said, "The edifice (temple) of this city is under the Brahmanas. They are our *rajás* and physicians, and our nuptial and funeral ceremonies are performed by them. We have agreed to pay the taxes in the expectation that every one would be left to follow his own persuasion. Thus our temple of Budh is ruined, and we cannot worship our idols. If our just lord will permit us, we will repair it, and worship our gods. Our Brahmanas will then receive the means of living from us."

*Muhammad Kasim writes to Hapay, and receives an answer*

Muhammad Kasim wrote to Hapay, and after some days received a reply to the following effect. The letter of my dear nephew Muhammad Kasim has been received, and the facts understood. It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanábád had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They



have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.<sup>1</sup>

### *Arrival of Hajjáj's orders*

When the orders of Hajjáj reached Muhammad Kásim, he had left the city, and had gone a march. He directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants, and the Brahmans to build their temple, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear, and strive to better themselves. He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmans with kindness and consideration, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors, and give oblations and alms to the Brahmans, according to former practice. They were to allot three dirams out of every hundred dirams capital, and to give them as much of this as should be necessary—the remainder was to be paid into the treasury and accounted for, it would be safe in the keeping of Government.<sup>2</sup> They were also to settle allowances upon the officers and the nobles. They all fully agreed to these conditions before Tamím bin Zaidul Kaisí and Hukm bin 'Awána Kalbí. It was ordained that the Brahmans should, like beggars, take a copper basin in their hands, go to the doors of the houses, and take whatever grain or other thing that might be offered to them, so that they might not remain unprovided for. This practice has got a peculiar name among the infidels.

### *Muhammad Kásim grants the request of the people of Brahmanabad*

Muhammad Kásim granted the request which the people of Brahmanábád had made to him, and permitted them to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians,<sup>3</sup> and fire worshippers of 'Irak

<sup>1</sup> [تا سحابه خود براي خود ريدگاني كند]

<sup>2</sup> [و ار صد درهم سه درهم بر اصل مال سكرتد چيد واجب باشد  
بدایشان رساند باقي در وجه خزانة در قلم اصحاب و حضور ثواب  
در حفظ مي باشد]

<sup>3</sup> [قائم بودن چنانكه جهود و ترسا و نصرانی و مسيحي]. See p 122]

and Shám He then dismissed them, and gave to their head men the appellation of Ráná <sup>1</sup>

*Muhammad Kasim calls for Sisakar, the minister*

He then called the minister Sísákar and Moka Bisáya, and asked them what was the position of the Jats of Lohána<sup>2</sup> in the time of Chach and Dáhir, and how were they dealt with? Sísákar, the minister, replied in the presence of Moka Bisáya that in the reign of Rái Chach, the Lohánas, viz Lákha and Samma, were not allowed to wear soft clothes, or cover their heads with velvet, but they used to wear a black blanket beneath, and throw a sheet of coarse cloth over their shoulders They kept their heads and feet naked. Whenever they put on soft clothes they were fined. They used to take their dogs with them when they went out of doors, so that they might by this means be recognized No chief was permitted to ride on a horse Wherever guides were required by the kings they had to perform the duty, and it was their business to supply escorts and conduct parties from one tribe to another If any of their chiefs or ránas rode upon a horse, he had no saddle or bridle, but threw a blanket on its back, and then mounted If an injury befel a person on the road, these tribes had to answer for it, and if any person of their tribe committed a theft, it was the duty of their head men to burn him and his family and children. The caravans used to travel day and night under their guidance There is no distinction among them of great and small They have the disposition of savages, and always rebelled against their sovereign They plunder on the roads, and within the territory of Debal all join with them in their highway robberies It is their duty to send fire-wood for the kitchen of the kings, and to serve them as menials and guards" On hearing this, Muhammad Kásim said, "What disgusting people they are They are just like the savages of Persia and the mountains"<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Kásim maintained the same rules regarding them As the Commander of the faithful, 'Umar, son of Khatáb, had ordered respecting the people of Shám,

so did Muhammad Kásim also make a rule that every guest should be entertained for one day and night, but if he fell sick then for three days and nights

*Muhammad Kasim sends a letter to Hajjáj bin Yúsuf*

When Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Brahmanábád and the Lohána territory, and had fixed the tribute of the Jats, he sent a report of all these particulars to Hajjáj. It was written at a place on the river Jalwáli,<sup>1</sup> above Brahmanábád. The account of taking the territory of Sind was communicated and stated in full detail.

*Reply of Hajjáj*

Hajjáj wrote in reply, "My nephew Muhammad Kásim, you deserve praise and commendation for your military conduct, and for the pains you have taken in protecting the people, ameliorating their condition, and managing the affairs of the Government. The fixing of the revenue upon each village, and the encouragement you have given to all classes of people to observe the laws, and their agreements, have brought much vigour to the Government, and have tended to the good administration of the country. Now you should not stay any longer in this city. The pillars of the countries of Hind and Sind are Alor and Multán. They are the capitals and royal residences. There must be great riches and treasures of kings hidden in these two places. If you stop anywhere, you should choose the most delightful place, so that your authority may be confirmed in the whole country of Hind and Sind. If any one refuses to submit to Muhammadan power slay him. May you be victorious under the decree of the Almighty God, so that you may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. Amr Kutaiba, son of Mushmu-l Kuraishí is sent, you should make over all the hostages to him, and an army is also placed under him. You should act in such a manner, O son of your uncle, and son of the mother of Jaisiya,<sup>2</sup> that the name of Kásim may become celebrated through you, and your enemies be humbled and confounded. May it please God."

<sup>1</sup> [A has Jalwání. See page 176.]

<sup>2</sup> Alluding probably to her being destined for Hajjáj. A few pages before we find Ládi was taken by Muhammad Kásim.

*The arrival of the letter of Hajjaj*

When the letter of Hajjáj reached Muhammad Kásim, he read it. It was also written in it, "You, O Muhammad, consult me in your letters, for it is prudent. The excessive distance is an obstacle. But show kindness that your enemies may desire to be submissive, comfort them."

*Appointment of four of the chief men of the city as officers for the management of the country*

Muhammad Kásim then called Widad', son of Hamidu-n Najdi, for the management of the city of Brahmanábád, that is, Báin-wah,<sup>1</sup> and appointed overseers and assistants. He entrusted four persons from among the merchants of the city with all matters concerning property. He strictly ordered that they should inform him fully and particularly of all matters, and that nothing should be decided without consulting him. He placed Núba, son of Dáras, in the fort of Ráwar, and directed him to hold the place fast, and keep the boats ready. If any boat coming up or down the stream was loaded with men or arms of war, he was to take them and bring them to the fort of Ráwar. He placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of the son of Ziyádu-l 'Abdí, and appointed Hamdí, son of Sulaimánu-l Azdí, to the districts which belonged to the territory of Kúraj,<sup>2</sup> Hanzala, son of Akhí Banáná Kalbí, was made governor of Dahlíla, and they were all ordered to inquire into and investigate the affairs of the surrounding places, and report to him thereon every month. He also directed them to assist each other so that they might be secure from attacks of the enemy's forces, and from the opposition of rebellious subjects, and they were to punish disturbers of the peace. He stationed two thousand foot soldiers with Kais bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Kaisu-d Damani and Khálid Ansári in Siwistán, and sent Mas'úd Tamími son of Shitaba Jadídí, Fírúsatí 'Atkí, Sábír Lashkarí, and 'Abdu-l Malik son of 'Abdulláh, Al Khazá'í, Mahram son of 'Akká, and

<sup>1</sup> [This is the spelling of MS A. The name is not given in B. The real name was *Bahmanu* or *Bahmanud*. See *ante* pp 34 and 61. Birání's *Kánún* quoted in Thomas' *Prinsep*, Vol II p 120, Renaud's *Fragments*, pp 41, 113.]

<sup>2</sup> [So in MS A. MS B has "Kúraj." See *ante*, p 124.]

Alúfá son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán, to Debal and Nírún, in order to maintain possession of those places. Amongst the companions of his exploits there was a man named Malíkh, who was a Maulá, him he appointed ruler of Karwáíl. 'Alwán Bakkarí and Kais, son of S'alibá, with three hundred men, also remained in that place, and there they had their wives and families. Thus the whole territory of the Jats was kept under subjection.

*Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Sáwandi Samma*

It is related that when Muhammad Kásim had attended to the affairs of the district of Brahmanábád, and of the eastern and western parts of the territory, he marched from that place on Thursday, the third of Muharram A.H. 94 (9 Oct., 712 A.D.) He stopped at a village called Manhal,<sup>1</sup> in the vicinity of Sáwandi.<sup>2</sup> There was a beautiful lake and a delightful meadow there, which were called Danda and Karbahá. He pitched his tents on the banks of the Danda. The inhabitants of the country were Samanís. The chiefs and merchants all came and made submission to Muhammad Kásim, and he gave them protection, according to the orders of Hajjáj. He said that they might live in their country with comfort and content, and pay the revenue at the proper season. He fixed revenue upon them and appointed a person from each tribe as the head of his tribe. One was a Samaní, whose name was Bawádu, and the other, Budehí Bamman Dhawal. The agriculturists in this part of the country were Jats, and they made their submission and were granted protection. When all these circumstances were communicated to Hajjáj, he sent an emphatic answer, ordering that those who showed fight should be destroyed, or that their sons and daughters should be taken as hostages and kept. Those who chose to submit, and in whose throats the water of sincerity flowed, were to be treated with mercy, and their property secured to them. The artisans and merchants were not to be heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported. From those who espoused the dignity of Islám, only a tenth part of their wealth and the produce of the land was to be required, but those who followed their own religion were to pay from the produce of their

<sup>1</sup> [Mathal in MS. B.]

<sup>2</sup> See *ante* pp. 122 and 150

manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums, according to the established custom of the country, and bring it to the Government collectors. Muhammad Kásim then marched from that place and arrived at Bahrawar. There he called Sulaiman son of Pathán and Abá Fazzatu-l Kasha'ri and made them swear by the Omnipotent. He gave them strict orders, and sent them with a body of men belonging to Haidar son of 'Amru and Baní Tamim towards the territory of the people of Bahraj'. They took up their residence there, and 'Umar son of Hayázu-l Akbari Hanafi was appointed their chief, and a body of famous warriors were placed under him.

*The Sammas come to receive him*

Muhammad Kasim then moved towards the tribes of the Samma. When he came near, they advanced to receive him, ringing bells, and beating drums and dancing. Muhammad Kásim said, "What noise is this?" The people told him that it was with them a customary ceremony, that when a new king comes among them they rejoice and receive him with frolics and merriment. Then Kharim, son of 'Umar, came to Muhammad Kásim and said, "It is proper for us to adore and praise the Almighty God, because He has made these people submissive and obedient to us, and our injunctions and inhibitions are obeyed in this country. Kharim was an intelligent and ingenious man, faithful and honest. Muhammad Kasim laughed at his words, and said, "You shall be made their chief," and he ordered them to dance and play before him. Kharim rewarded them with twenty dinárs of African gold, and said—It is a regal privilege that joyful demonstrations should be made by them on the arrival of their prince, and gratitude thus be shown to the Almighty—may this blessing be long preserved to them.

*Muhammad Kasim marches towards Lohana and Sihta*

The historians say, upon the authority of 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin

<sup>1</sup> These passages are doubtful and have no meaning as they stand. [The following is the text —  
 و ایجا نیز سلیمان بن پنهان و اما نقشه اشعری مولی کد —  
 او ایجا اند وایش، و ای سکندها داد سجدائی عر و حل و نازک کد برتاکید  
 را از حیدر بن عمرو و سی تمیم داد و بجد  
 اهل نجره و فرستاد MS B contains the second edition

Abdu-r Rahmán bin 'Abdu-lláh us Salíh, that when Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Lohána, he came to Sihta. The chiefs and peasants advanced bare-headed and bare-footed to receive him, and sued for mercy. He granted them all protection, fixed the revenue they were to pay, and took hostages. He asked them to guide him through the various stages to Alor. Their guides were sent forward to Alor, which was the capital of Hind and the greatest city in all Sind. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, artisans, and agriculturists. The governor of its fort was Fufi, son of Rái Dáhir, and before him nobody dared say that Dáhir was slain. He maintained that Rái Dáhir was yet alive, and had gone to bring an army from Hind, that with its support and assistance he might fight with the Arabs. Muhammad Kasim encamped for one month before the fort, at the distance of one mile. He built there a mosque, in which he read the Khutba every Friday.

### *Battle with the people of Alor*

War was then waged with the people of Alor, who believed that Dáhir was bringing men to their aid. They cried aloud from the ramparts to the besiegers, "You must abandon all hope of life, for Dáhir, with a formidable army of numberless elephants, horse and foot, is advancing in your rear, and we shall sally out from the fort and defeat your army. Abandon your wealth and baggage, take care of your lives, and run away, that you may not be killed. Hear this advice."

### *Muhammad Kasim purchases Ládi, the wife of Dáhir, from a woman.<sup>1</sup>*

When Muhammad Kásim saw their resolution and perseverance in maintaining hostilities, and found that they persisted in denying that Dáhir was slain, he put Ládi, the wife of Dáhir, whom he had purchased from a woman and made his wife, on the black camel on which the wife of Dáhir used to ride, and sent her with trusty persons to the fort. She cried out, "O people of the fort, I have some matters of importance to tell you, come near that I may speak." A body of the principal men ascended the ramparts. Ládi

<sup>1</sup> [Such are the words of the text. See however, page 181.]

then uncovered her face, and said, "I am Ládi, the wife of Dahir. Our king is killed, and his head has been sent to 'Irak, the royal flags and umbrella have also been forwarded to the capital of the Khalífa. Do not you destroy yourselves. God says (in the Kurán) 'Seek not destruction by your own hands,' " She then shrieked out, wept bitterly, and sang a funeral song. They replied from the fort, "You are false, you have joined these *Chandals* and Cow-eaters, and have become one of them. Our king is alive, and is coming with a mighty army and war elephants to repel the enemy. Thou hast polluted thyself with these Arabs, and prefer their government to our kings." Thus and still more did they abuse her. When Muhammad Kasim heard this, he called Ládi back, and said, "Fortune has turned away her face from the family of Silaj."

*A sorceress tries to ascertain the death of Dahir*

It is related by the historians that in the fort of Alor there was a sorceress, which in Hindí is called *Jogin*. Fusi, son of Dáhir, and the nobles of the city, went to her and said, "It is expected that you will tell us by your science where Dahir is." She replied that she would give them information, after making experiments, if they would allow her one day for the purpose. She then went to her house, and after three watches of the day she brought a branch of the pepper and the nutmeg tree from Sarandip (Ceylon), with their blossoms and berries all green and perfect in her hand, and said, "I have traversed the whole world from Káf to Kuf, but have found no trace of him anywhere in Hind or Sind, nor have I heard anything of him. Now settle your plans, for if he were alive he could not remain hidden and concealed from me. To verify my words, I have brought these green branches from Sarandip that you may have no delusions. I am sure that your king is not alive on the face of the earth."

*Capitulation of the fort of Alor*

When this became known, the people of the city, great and small, said they had heard of the honesty, prudence, justice, equity, and

<sup>1</sup> [ایشان را ارنال می گفتند] This is an instance of the frequent *in MS A* The other MS *B* omits it ]





of your army from our minds. This ancient dominion and extensive territory were entrusted to us by Rái Dahir, and as long as he was alive we observed our allegiance to him. But as he is slain, and his son Fúfí has run away, it is now better for us to obey you." Muhammad Kásim replied, "I sent you no message, nor ambassador, of your own accord you sue for peace, and make promises and engagements. If you are truly inclined to obey me, stop fighting, and with sincerity and confidence come down, if not, I will hear no excuses after this, nor make any promises. I will not spare you, nor can you be saved from my army."

*The Garrison capitulates*

Then they came down from the ramparts and agreed with each other that on these terms they would open the gate and stand at it till Muhammad Kásim should come. They said that if he would act according to his promise, and would treat them generously, they would submit to him and serve him, without any excuse. Then they took the keys of the fort in their hands and stood before the gate, and the officers of Hajjúj, who had been selected, came forward, the garrison opened the gate and made their submission.

*Muhammad Kásim enters the fort.*

Muhammad Kásim then entered the gate. All the citizens had come to the temple of Nau-vihár,<sup>1</sup> and were prostrating themselves and worshipping the idol. Muhammad Kásim asked what house it was, that all the great men and the nobles were kneeling before it, and making prostrations. He was told that it was a temple called Nau-vihar. Muhammad Kásim ordered the door of the temple to be opened, and he saw an imago mounted on a horse. He went in, with his officers, and found that it was made of hard stone, and that golden bracelets, ornamented with rubies and other precious stones, were on its hands. Muhammad Kásim stretched out his hand and took off one of the bracelets. He then called the keeper of the temple of Budh Nau-vihar, and said, "Is that your idol?" He replied, "Yes, but it had two bracelets, and now it has only one."

<sup>1</sup> [The title would appear to have been a common one, for there was a temple of the same name at Brahmanábád, see p. 149.]

Muhammad Kásim said, "Does not your god know who has got his bracelet?" The keeper hung down his head. Muhammad Kásim laughed, and gave back the bracelet to him, and they replaced it on the hand of the idol.

*Muhammad Kasim orders the soldiers to be killed*<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Kasim ordered that if the military bowed their heads in submission they should not be killed. Ládí said "the people of this country are chiefly workmen, but some are merchants. The city is inhabited and its land cultivated by them, and the amount of the taxes will be realized from their earnings and tillage if the tribute is fixed on each person." Muhammad Kásim said, "Rání Ládí has ordered this," and he gave protection to all.

*A person comes forward and craves mercy*

It is related by the historians, that from amongst the people who were given up to the executioners to be put to death, a person came forward and said, "I have a wonderful thing to show." The executioner said, "Let me see it." He said, "No, I will not show it to you, but to the commander." This was reported to Muhammad Kásim, and he ordered him to be brought before him. When he came, he asked him what wonder he had to show. The man said it was a thing which nobody had yet seen. Muhammad Kásim said, "Bring it." The Brahman replied, "If you grant my life, and that of all and every of my relations, family, and children." Muhammad Kásim said, "I grant it." He then asked him for a written and express promise under his gracious signature. Muhammad Kasim thought that he would produce some precious gem or ornament. When a strict promise was made, and the written order was in his hand, he pulled his beard and whiskers, and spread out the hairs, then he placed his toes at the back of his head and began to dance, repeating this saying, "Nobody has seen this wonder of mine. The hairs of my beard serve me for curls." Muhammad Kásim was surprised at this. The people who were present said, "What wonder is this for which he wishes to be

<sup>1</sup> The contents of the chapter do not agree with the heading, nor with the execution which appears to have been ordered in the next chapter.

pardoned? Ho has deceived us " Muhammad Kásim replied, " 'A word is a word, and a promise is a promise' 'To belie oneself is not the act of a great man' 'Know that he who retracts is a treacherous man' 'See how a (true) man observes his promise' 'If a person fulfil his words, he is more exalted than you can conceive' We must not kill him, but we will send him to prison, and report the case to Hajjaj for his decision " Accordingly the execution of that man and of twenty-two of his relations and dependants was postponed, and a report of the case was written to Hajjaj, who asked the learned men of Kufa and Basra to pronounce their opinions. A report was also sent to 'Abdu-l Malik, the Khalifa of the time. The answer which came from the Khalifa and the learned men was, that such a case had already occurred among the friends of the Prophet—may peace be to him. God says, "He is a true man who fulfils his promise in God's name" When the answer to this effect came, the man was liberated with all his dependants and relations.

### *Jaisiya goes to Kúraj*

It is related by the great and principal men, that when Jaisiya, with seven hundred men, foot and horse, reached the fort of Kúraj,<sup>1</sup> the chief of that place came forth to receive him. He showed him much attention, and inspired his hopes by great promises. He told him that he would assist him against the Muhammadans. It was customary with Darohar<sup>2</sup> Rái to take one day's holiday in every six months, drink wine with women, hear songs, and see dancing. No stranger was admitted to be one of the company. It happened that on the day Jaisiya arrived Darohar Rái was celebrating this festival. He sent a person to Jaisiya to say that on that day he was in privacy, and no stranger could come to his chamber, but as he (Jaisiya) was a very dear guest, and was regarded by him as his son, he might attend. Jaisiya bent down his head, and drawing lines on the earth did not look at the women. Darohar told him that they might be regarded as his (Jaisiya's) mother and sisters, he might lift up his head and look. Jaisiya said, "I am originally a monk, and I do not look at any woman who is

<sup>1</sup> [See pp 124 and 189 ]

<sup>2</sup> [The "Dáhar" of " ]


a stranger Darohar then excused him from looking, and praised his self-restraint and modesty. It is narrated, that when the women came round him, there was among them the sister of Darohar, whose name was Jankí, that is, beautiful, and she was lovely. She was a woman of royal descent, and possessed of great charms. She was elegant in stature as the juniper tree, generous in disposition, her words were like a string of pearls, her eyes handsome, and her cheeks like tulips or rubies. When she saw him, love for Jaisiya took hold of her heart. She looked at him every moment, and made love to him by her gestures. When Jaisiya went away, Jankí, the sister of Darohar, arose and went to her house. She had a litter prepared, in which she seated herself, and ordering her maid-servants to carry it, she proceeded to Jaisiya's dwelling. There she alighted from the litter and went in. Jaisiya had gone to sleep, but when the smell of wine, which proceeded from Jankí, penetrated his brain, he awoke, and saw Jankí sitting beside him. He rose up and said, "Princess, what has brought you here? What time is this for you to come here?" She replied, "Foolish fellow, there is no necessity to ask me about this. Would a young and beautiful woman come in the very dark of the night to visit a prince like you, would she rouse him from sweet slumber, and wish to sleep with him, but for one purpose, particularly a beauty like me, who has seduced a world with her blandishments and coquetry, and made princes mad with desire? You must know well and fully my object, for how can it remain concealed from you? Take advantage of this success till morning." Jaisiya said, "Princess, I cannot consort with any other woman than my own lawful and wedded wife, nor ought such a thing to be done by me, because I am a Brahman, a monk, and a continent person, and this act is not worthy of great, learned, and pious men. Beware lest you defile me with so great a crime." Although she importuned him much, he would not accede to her wishes, and struck the hand of denial on the tablet of her breast.

*Jankí is disappointed by Jaisiya*

When Jankí was disappointed, she said, "Jaisiya, you have deprived me of the delights and raptures I anticipated. Now have I determined to destroy you, and to make myself the food of fire."

then retired to her house, and covered herself with her clothes. When she closed the door, she tossed about on her bed till day-break, was uttering these couplets —“Your love and your charms have won my heart.” “The light of your beauty has illumined my soul.” “I will give you justice or I will weep.” “I will burn myself, you, and the city together.” The next day, although the king of the stars raised his head from the bastions of the heavens, and tore up the coverlid of darkness, Jankí was still asleep. The fumes of wine and the effects of separation mingled together, and she remained so till late, with her head covered with her bedclothes. King Darohar would take no breakfast, and drink no wine, till his sister showed her face. He always paid her much honour and respect. He rose and went to his sister's apartments, and found her overwhelmed with care and melancholy. He said, “O, sister! O distress, what has come over thee, that thy tulip-coloured face is aged and turned pale?” Jankí replied, “Prince, what stronger reason can there be than this—That fool of Sind surely saw me in the gay assembly. Last night he came to my house, and called me an infidel. He wanted to stain the skirt of my continence and purity, which has never been polluted with the dirt of vice, and to contaminate my pious mind and pure person with the foulness of his lechery, and so bring my virgin modesty to shame. The king will not exact justice for me from him, so that no reckless fellow may afterwards attempt such perfidy and violence.” The fire of anger kindled out in Darohar, but he told his sister that Jaisiya was their enemy, and moreover a monk and a Brahman, who was connected with them. He had come to ask assistance, and was accompanied by one thousand warriors. He could not be killed. He was not to be destroyed by force, “but,” said he, “I will contrive some plot to slay him. Arise and take your morning meal. As no crime has been committed no open threats can be made.”

*Darohar contemplates treacherous measures against Jaisiya*

Darohar came to his palace, called two armed blacks, one of whom was named Kabir Bhadr,<sup>1</sup> and the other Bhau,  thus

addressed them, "I will invite Jaisiya to-day after breakfast, and entertain him, after taking dinner, I will drink wine in a private apartment, and play chess with him. You must both be ready with your arms. When I say *shah mât* (check-mate), do you draw your swords and kill him." A man of Sind, who had been one of the servants of Dahir and was on terms of friendship with an attendant of Darohar, became acquainted with this scheme, and informed Jaisiya of it. When at the time of dinner, an officer of Darohar came to call Jaisiya, he said to his *thákurs* who were in command of his soldiers, "Oh *Gúrsia*<sup>1</sup> and *Súrsia*, I am going to dine with King Darohar. So you prepare your arms and go in with me. When I am playing chess with Darohar do you stand close behind him, and be careful that no evil eye may fall on me, or any treacherous act be done or contrived.

*Jaisiya comes with his two armed men*

Accordingly they went to the court, and as Darohar had omitted to order that no other person except Jaisiya should be allowed to come in, both the attendants went in and stood behind Darohar without his observing them. When they had finished the game of chess, Darohar raised his head, in order to make the signal to his men, but he saw that two armed men were standing ready near him. He was disappointed, and said, "It is not checkmate, that sheep must not be slain." Jaisiya knew that this was the signal, so he arose and went to his house and ordered his horses to be prepared. He bathed, put on his arms, got his troops ready, and ordered them to mount. Darohar sent an officer to see what Jaisiya was doing. He returned, and said, "May God's blessing be upon that man. His nature is adorned with the ornaments of temperance. He is of noble extraction, and his works are not evil. He always strives to preserve his purity and holiness in the fear of God." It is narrated that when Jaisiya had bathed, taken food, and put on his arms, he loaded the baggage on camels, and passing under the palace of Darohar, left him without paying him a visit and saying farewell, but he sent to inform him of his departure, and marched away with all his relations and dependants. He

<sup>1</sup> ["*Tursiya*," MS B]

travelled till he reached the land of Kassa,<sup>1</sup> on the borders of Jilaudhar. The Chief of it was named Balhará, and the women of the country called him A'stan Sháh.<sup>2</sup> He remained there till the succession of the Khulífat devolved upon Umar 'Abdu-l Azíz, when 'Amrú, son of Mukallam, by the orders of the government, went to that country and subjugated it.

*An account of the courage of Jaisiya, and the reason why he was so called*

It was related by some Brahmins of Alor that Jaisiya, son of Dáhur, was unequalled in bravery and wisdom. The story of his birth runs, that one day Dáhur Ráí went hunting with all the animals and all the equipments of the chase. When the dogs and leopards and lynxes were set free to chase the deer, and the falcons and hawks were flying in the air a roaring lion (*sher*) came forth, and terror and alarm broke out among the people and the hunters. Dáhur alighted from his horse, and went on foot to oppose the lion, which also prepared for fight. Dáhur wrapped a sheet round his hand which he put into the beast's mouth, then raised his sword, and cut off two of his legs. He then drew out his hand and thrust his sword into the belly and ripped up the animal so that it fell down. Those men who had fled for fear came home, and told the Ráí that Dáhur Ráí was fighting with a lion. The wife of Dáhur was big with child when she heard this news, and from the great love she bore her husband she fell and swooned away. Before Dáhur had returned, the soul of his wife had departed from her body through fright. Dáhur came and found her dead, but the child was moving in the womb, so he ordered her to be cut open, and the child was taken out alive, and given over to the charge of a nurse. The child was therefore called Jaisiya, that is, "*al muzaffar bi-l asad*," or in Persian, *sher-firoz*, "lion-conqueror."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [So in MS A "Kasar" in B. See Biládurí, p. 121.]

<sup>2</sup> [MS A says, 'وَأَن مَلِكْتَرَا بَلْهَرَامَ بُوَدِ السَّهْ كَسَهْ آسْتَانِ شَاهِ كَعْتَدِي' MS B says, 'وَأَن مَلِكْتَرَا بَلْهَرَا نَامِ اسَهْ كِهَانِ (?) شَاهِ كَعْتَدِي']

<sup>3</sup> The real name therefore would seem to be Jai Sing



*Appointment of Rawah, son of Asad, who was the issue of the daughter of Ahnak, son of Kais*

The dressers of this bride, and the embellishers of this garden have thus heard from 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin Salmā bin Muḥārib and 'Abdu-r Raḥmān, son of 'Abdaru s Saḥī, that when Muḥammad Kāsīm had subjugated the proud people of Alor, the seat of government, and all the people had submitted to him and obeyed his rule, he appointed Rawah, son of Asad, who on his mother's side was one of the grandsons of Ahnak, son of Kais, to the chiefship of Alor and entrusted the matters connected with the law and religion to Sadru-l Imām al Ajall al 'Alim Burḥanu-l Millat wa-u-d Dīn Saifu-s Sunnat wa Najmu-sh Sharīat, that is, to Musā bin Ya'qub bin Taī bin Muḥammad bin Shaibān bin 'Uṣman Sakīfī. He ordered them to comfort the subjects, and leave not the words "Inculcate good works and prohibit bad ones," to become a dead letter. He gave them both advice as to their treatment of the people, and leaving them entire power, he then marched from that place and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yabṣā, on the south bank of the Biās. It was an old fort, and the chief of it was Kaksa.

*Kaksa is vanquished and comes to Muḥammad Kāsīm<sup>1</sup>*

Kaksa, son of Chandar, son of Silāj, was cousin of Dahur, son of Chach, and was present in the battle which Dahur fought, but having fled he had come to this fort in wretched plight, and had taken up his abode in it. When the Muhammadan army arrived, a contribution and hostages were sent, and the chiefs and nobles went forth and made submission. Muḥammad Kāsīm showed them kindness, and granted them suitable rich khil'ats, and asked them whether Kaksa belonged to the family (ahl) of Alor, "for they are all wise, learned, trustworthy, and honest. They are famous for their integrity and honesty." He added, "Protection is given him, so that he may come with hearty confidence and hopes of future favour for he shall be made counsellor

<sup>1</sup> [MS A has يابسة B has تاسة]

<sup>2</sup> [This heading is not given in MS B. The full reading of MS A. is "Subjugation of Kaksa and the coming of Silāj to M Kāsīm." The genealogy which follows is taken from MS B. The other MS begins "Silāj, cousin of Dahur," which is an evident blunder, the heading and the text having probably been jumbled together.]

in all affairs, and I will entrust him with the duties of the Wazárat." The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad Kásim used to make him sit before the throne and then consulted him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country, and the treasure was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad Kasim in all his undertakings, and was called by the title of Mubárák Mushir, "prosperous counsellor."

*Conquest of Sikka Multan<sup>1</sup> by Muhammad Kasim*

When he had settled affairs with Kaksa, he left the fort, crossed the Bias, and reached the stronghold of Askalanda,<sup>2</sup> the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. Ráwa,<sup>3</sup> son of 'Amíratu-t Tafi, and Kaksa headed the advanced army and commenced battle. Very obstinate engagements ensued, so that on both sides streams of blood flowed. The Arabs at the time of their prayers repeated "Glorious God" with a loud voice, and renewed the attack. The idolaters were defeated, and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for seven days, and the nephew of the chief of Multán, who was in the fort of that city, made such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions, but at last the chief of Askalanda<sup>4</sup> came out in the night time, and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Rávi. When then chief had gone away, all the people, the artizans, and merchants sent a message to say that they were subjects, and now that their chief had fled, they solicited protection from Muhammad Kásim. He granted this request of the merchants, artizans, and agriculturists, but he went into the fort, killed four thousand fighting men with his bloody sword, and sent their families into slavery,

<sup>1</sup> [It is here invariably called سكه ملتان in both MSS. The ~~Alas~~ of Biláduri, page 122.]

<sup>2</sup> [عكه كنده A. عكسلنده B.]

<sup>4</sup> [اعدكده B. اسكلنده A.]

He appointed as governor of the fort 'Atba son of Salma Tamimí and himself with the army proceeded towards Sikka Multán. It was a fort on the south bank of the Rávi, and Bajhra Táki, grandson of Bajhrá (daughter's son), was in it<sup>1</sup>. When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day, when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for seventeen days they maintained a fierce conflict. From among the most distinguished officers (of Muhammad Kasim) twenty-five were killed, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors of Islám were slain. Bajhra passed over the Rávi and went into Multán. In consequence of the death of his friends, Muhammad Kásim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage<sup>2</sup> the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multán, at the ferry below the city,<sup>3</sup> and Bajhrá came out to take the field.

*Muhammad Kasim fights with the ferry-men*

That day the battle raged from morning till sun-set, and when the world, like a day labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, all retired to their tents. The next day, when the morning dawned from the horizon, and the earth was illumined, fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides, but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of two months mangonels and ghazraks<sup>4</sup> were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the walls of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price even of an ass's head was raised to five hundred dirams. When the chief Gúrsiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dáhir, saw that the Arabs were noway disheartened, but on the contrary were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmir. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort, and the fight com-

<sup>1</sup> [بجھرا نام نواسه ك بجھرا طاكي در آن حصار بود]

<sup>2</sup> [خراب كردند] <sup>3</sup> [گداری ملتان یعنی ربر ملتان]

<sup>4</sup> Translated "a breastplate," "warlike instrument," in Richardson's Dictionary. The Haft Kulzum says it also bears the meaning of offensive weapons, as "javelins," "daggers."

menced, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort, and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kásim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river<sup>1</sup>. A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down, and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependants were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artisans, and the agriculturists. Muhammad Kásim said the booty ought to be sent to the treasury of the Khalifa, but as the soldiers have taken so much pains, have suffered so many hardships, have hazarded their lives, and have been so long a time employed in digging the mine and carrying on the war, and as the fort is now taken, it is proper that the booty should be divided, and their dues given to the soldiers.

### *Division of Plunder*

Then all the great and principal inhabitants of the city assembled together, and silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight. After this, Muhammad Kásim said that some plan should be devised for realizing the money to be sent to the Khalifa. He was pondering upon this, and was discoursing on the subject, when suddenly a Brahman came and said, "Heathenism is now at an end, the temples are thrown down, the world has received the light of Islam, and mosques are built instead of idol temples. I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jībawín,<sup>2</sup> and who was a descendant of the Ráí of Kashmir. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he concealed forty copper jars each of

<sup>1</sup> [آب حوی] This can hardly mean the main river.]

<sup>2</sup> [جمور in MS A and جموین in MS B. The second letter may be ز, making the name Jasur or Jaswín.]

which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir." It is related by historians, on the authority of 'Alī bin Muhammad who had heard it from Abū Muhammad Hindūf that Muhammad Kásim arose and with his counselors, guards and attendants, went to the temple. He saw there an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies.

### *Reflection of Muhammad Kásim*

Muhammad Kásim thought it might perhaps be a man, so he drew his sword to strike it, but the Brahman said, "O just commander, this is the image which was made by Jībawīn,<sup>1</sup> king of Multán, who concealed the treasure here and departed. Muhammad Kásim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained, and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand and two hundred *mans* weight of gold was taken out. This gold and the image were brought to the treasury together with the gems and pearls and treasure which were obtained from the plunder of the city of Multán.

It is said by Abū-l Hasan Hamadání, who had heard it from Kharūm son of 'Umar, that the same day on which the temple was dug up and the treasure taken out, a letter came from Hájjáj Yúsuf to this effect — "My nephew, I had agreed and pledged myself, at the time you marched with the army, to repay the whole expense incurred by the public treasury in fitting out the expedition, to the Khalifa Walid bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwan, and it is incumbent on me to do so. Now the accounts of the money due have been examined and checked, and it is found that sixty thousand dirams in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Kásim, and up to this date there has been received in cash, goods, and stuffs, altogether one hundred and twenty thousand dirams weight.<sup>2</sup> Wherever there is an ancient

<sup>1</sup> [جيونين in MS A حليور in MS B]

<sup>2</sup> [This passage is not clear in the original, nor do the MSS quite agree, but see page 123]

place or famous town or city, mosques and pulpits should be erected there, and the Khutba should be read, and the coin struck in the name of this government. And as you have accomplished so much with this army by your good fortune, and by seizing fitting opportunities, so be assured that to whatever place of the infidels you proceed it shall be conquered "

*Muhammad Kásim makes terms with the people of Multán*

When Muhammad Kásim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of the city of Multan he erected a Jama' masjid and minarets, and he appointed Amir Dáúd Nasr son of Walid 'Ummání its governor. He left Kharim son of 'Abdu-l Malik Tamím in the fort of Bramhapúr, on the banks of the Jhailam, which was called Sobúr (Shore?)<sup>1</sup> Akrama, son of Rihán Shámí was appointed governor of the territory around Multán, and Ahmad son of Haríma son of 'Atba Madaní was appointed governor of the forts of Ajtahád and Karur<sup>2</sup>. He despatched the treasure in boats to be carried to Debál<sup>3</sup> and paid into the treasury of the capital. He himself stayed in Multán and about fifty thousand horsemen, with munitions of war, were under his command.

*Abu Halím is sent at the head of ten thousand horse towards*

*The army and Abú Hákim arrive at Údháfar*<sup>1</sup>

At this time the chief of Kanauj was the son of Jahtal Rái. When the army reached as far as Údháfar, Abú Hákim Shaibáni ordered Zaid, son of 'Amrú Kallabí, to be brought before him. He said, "Zaid, you must go on a mission to Rái Har Chandar, son of Jahtal, and deliver the mandato for his submission to Islám, and say that from the ocean to the boundary of Kashmir all kings and chiefs have acknowledged the power and authority of the Muhammadans, and have made their submission to Amir 'Imádu-d Din, general of the Arab army, and persecutor of the infidels. That some have embraced Islám, and others have agreed to send tribute to the treasury of the Khalífa."

*Answer of Rái Har Chandar of Kanauj*

Rái Har Chandar replied, "This country for about one thousand six hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary, nor has any one ventured to oppose us, or to lay hands upon our territory. What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind. It is not proper to send an envoy to prison, otherwise, for this speech and for this impossible claim you would deserve such treatment. Other enemies and princes may listen to you, but not I.<sup>2</sup> Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight against each other in order that our strength and might may be tried, and that either I may conquer or be conquered by you. When the superiority of one side or the other in warfare and courage shall be seen, then peace or war shall be determined on." When the message and letter of Rái Har Chandar was delivered to Muhammad Kasim, he took the advice of all the chiefs, nobles, commanders, and warriors, and said, "Up to this time, by the favour of God, and the assistance of the heavens, the Ráis of Hind have been defeated and frustrated, and victory has declared in favour of Islám. To day we have come to encounter this cursed infidel who is puffed up with his army and elephants

<sup>1</sup> [اوردها فر in B. اوردها فر in A.]

<sup>2</sup> [Such is Sir H. Elliot's own rendering of what seems to be an imperfect sentence in the original.]

With the power and assistance of God, it behoves you to exert yourselves that we may subdue him, and be victorious and successful over him." All were ready to fight against Rái Har Chandar,<sup>1</sup> and united together, and urged Muhammad Kásim to declare war

*Orders from the Capital to Muhammad Kásim*

The next day, when the king of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night, a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of government arrived. Muhammad, son of 'Alí Abú-l Hasan Hamadúni says, that when Rái Dahir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kásim had sent them to Baghdád under the care of his negro slaves. The Khalífa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalífa, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walíd 'Abdu-l Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, "My name is Suryádeo," and the youngest replied, "my name is Parmaldeo." He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the Khalífa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryádeo and drew her towards him. But Suryádeo stood up, and said, "Long live the king! I am not worthy the king's bed, because the just Commander 'Imadu-d-Dín Muhammad Kásim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you, but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings." The Khalífa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinize the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad Kásim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

<sup>1</sup> [See *Ayín Akbarí* II 219. Abú-l



*Muhammad Kasim reaches Udhafar, and receives the order from the Khalifa's capital*

When Muhammad Kásim received the letter at Udháfar, he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kásim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalifa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walid 'Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwán, that Muhammad Kasim Sakifi had been brought to the capital. The Khalifa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, "May the Khalifa's life, prosperity, and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Udhápúr,<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Kásim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khutba continues to be read in the name of the Khalifa, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy."

*The Khalifa opens the chest*

The Khalifa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj, he sacrificed his precious life at my command."

*The address of Janki,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Dahir, to Khalifa 'Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwan*

Then the virtuous Janki put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years, and may he be

<sup>1</sup> [This is the reading of MS A in this passage, the other MS still keeps to its reading "Udhábar." Mir M'asúm says "Udhápúr" and the Tuhfatu-l Kurám writes it with points "Udaipur." There is a place of this name in the desert north of Bikanír.]

<sup>2</sup> This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked.

adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be contemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muhammad Kásim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalifa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalifa not passed such peremptory orders, had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach, and had Muhammad Kásim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have put himself into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The Khalifa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

*Janki again addresses the Khalifa*

Janki again opened her lips and looked at the Khalifa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins, and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muhammad Kásim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person." The Khalifa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islám have been more and more and day, and are still advancing

## IV.

## TÁRÍKHU-S SIND.

BY

MÍR MUHAMMAD M'ASÚM, OF BHAKKAR

THIS is the most copious history of Sind which we possess, inasmuch, as besides containing an account of the Arabian conquest, it brings the annals of this country down to the time of its incorporation into the Moghul empire in the time of Akbar

The work, which is sometimes called *Tárikh-i M'asúmi*, is divided into four chapters

The first chapter contains an account of the events which led to the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and closes with the death of Rájá Dáhir, though it professes to carry the history down to the Khalífa Hárún.

The second chapter, after omitting all notice of the two centuries which elapsed between Hárún and Mahmúd of Ghazní, gives an account of Sind under the Emperors of Dehli, and of the Súmra and Samma dynasties, after the invasion of Timúr. The author mentions at the close of the chapter that he was induced to give an account of the Sumras and Sammas in detail, because it was to be found nowhere else. But his own is much confused from his inattention to dates

The third chapter is devoted to the history of the Arghúma dynasty, including an account of Siwí, Kandahár, &c, of some celebrated holy men, judges, and Saiyids, and of the kings of

Multán It also contains an account, in more than usual detail, of the Emperor Humáyun's operations in Sind and the desert, after his flight from Ágra

The fourth chapter contains a tedious relation of the mode in which Sind fell under the power of Akbar upon the capitulation of Mirzá Jání Beg of Thatta, in A D 1592 We have also occasional notices of the interference of the Firingís in the affairs of Thatta As the author was contemporary with this event, he enters into very minute particulars, which are, however, for the most part, uninteresting Amongst his own personal experiences, he describes an interview he had with the Emperor Akbar, who bestowed on him three villages in Jágir, in the district of Bhakkar

Muhammad M'asúm, who gave himself the poetical title of Námí, was born at Bhakkar, in Sind, and was the son of Safá'yí Husainí, an inhabitant of Kirmán [He was a man of considerable attainments, and he rose to some distinction in the service of Akbar and Jahángír His knowledge of history was highly esteemed in his own day He was also a poet of some repute, and an excellent calligraphist<sup>1</sup>] His history of Sind was written in A D 1600, for the instruction and improvement of his son, named Mír Buzurg, in order that, "by reading it he might learn what good men of old did, that he might discriminate between right and wrong, between that which is useful and the reverse, and might learn to follow the paths of virtuous men."

The only work quoted by him as an authority is the Chach-náma, which he abridges in his first chapter, relating to the Arab conquest of Sind He is credulous and delights in recounting miracles of saints, but he gives no legendary lore like the Tuhfatu-l Kírám Mír M'asúm and his work have been noticed by several writers by Badáúní (under article "Námí") by Haidar Rází, the Ma-ásíru-l Umrá, the Tuhfatu-l Kírám, Búgh-Mání and Mirát-i Daulat 'Abbási<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal As Soc Beng Feb 1838, Sprenger's Bibliog Bibl. I 356 Morley's Catalogue p 72

<sup>2</sup> See ,

[Copies of this history are common<sup>1</sup> There are two in the British Museum, one of which was transcribed from a copy made from the author's own autograph There is another in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has been fully described by Morley in his Catalogue, a fourth in the Library of the East India Office, and there is a copy in Sir H Elliot's Library which was written for him in 1852. This copy and that of the R As Soc have been used for the following translations, and are referred to as MSS *A* and *B*]

[At the end of Sir H Elliot's copy, there is a brief history of Sind in "three distinct chapters" It is written in the same hand and bears the same date as the rest of the MS Though occupying only nineteen pages, it gives a summary of the history of Sind, to the end of the last century—from Rái Síharas, down to Ahmad Sháh Dúrání The author's name is not given, but the contents are generally in accordance with the history of M'asúm]

This work has been translated by Capt G Malet, late British Resident at Khairpúr, but so literally, as not to be fit for publication in its present shape. [There is a copy of this translation in Sir H Elliot's library, which, on examination, is found to contain matter that is entirely absent from all the five MSS above specified One long passage quoted hereafter, relates to the Súmra dynasty, the history of which is involved in considerable obscurity The additional names it supplies, receive some support from the "Tuhfatu-l Kirám," but nothing corroborative has been found in the other Sindian histories There is some apparent similarity between the general style of the history and that of the additional matter Like Mír M'asúm, the writer always employs some figurative expression for the death of a prince, but this is a practice very common among historians, and the style may have been

<sup>1</sup> [Wilson refers to the work in his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (II p 129), and Capt Mac Murdo in his Paper on Sind (Journal R A S, Vol I p 223)]

designedly imitated, so that the resemblance affords no evidence of authenticity. The general concurrence of the MSS and the authority of the British Museum MS is sufficient to stamp the passage as an interpolation—though there appears to be some authority for its statements. Morley, in his Catalogue, notices an interpolation in the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society, which comes in abruptly within a few lines of the end of the history. He says, "After this, in the present MS there is an account of Dúda, who was ruler of Thatttha in the time of Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, King of Dehli, occupying six pages. In the East India House MS (No 43) this is omitted, the history ending immediately after the capitulation of Jání Beg, and stating in four lines that he died in A H 1011 (A D 1602), and was succeeded in his government by his son Mirza 'Ásí. The MS in the British Museum (Addit No 16,700), agrees with that of the East India House in this respect," and with Sir H. Elliot's. Duda is the name of one of the princes given in Malet's additional passage, but the matter of these pages differs from his.]

Sir H. Elliot's copy contains 290 folios of fourteen lines each, and of these about forty-five have been translated.

## BOOK II

### *Account of the Samma dynasty*

It has been already related how Sultán Mahmud came from Ghazni, and after capturing the fort of Multan, brought the country of Sind under his authority, and sent his officers to govern it. After the death of Mahmúd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the government (of Sind) devolved upon 'Abdu-r Rashíd Sultan Mas'úd. This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and heeded not the duties of government, so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and throw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Sumra assembled in the



ments for the country in his hands, he with heart at ease went and remained at Thatta. During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace, all were happy and contented. By chance it one day came into his mind that it was not proper for him to be always merely sitting on the throne, that it was better to spend some time in the *shikārgāhs*, the jungles, and plains, which had become green from rain, and where the animals were grazing happily. After this, having collected many men, he marched against the Bulúchis, the Sodhas, and the Jharejas. On reaching their borders, Ran Mal Sodha, Ram Rái Jhareja, and Míhran Bulúch, being introduced by the Amírs and other men of weight, came and made great offerings. Khafif, presenting them with handsome presents in return, made them very happy. He then gave them their dismissal.

"He proposed returning to Thatta the following morning, but at that time a Bulúch came complaining that the thieves of the tribe of Samma had plundered his tribe, taking everything they possessed. On hearing this Khafif was much astonished, and at the instant mounting with those who were with him he started and quickly came against this tribe. He took all the property which had been robbed from the Bulúchis, and those men who had disobeyed orders and acted in this manner he punished with severity. His arrangements were such in all the country under him, from Kachh to Nasrpúr, that in the whole of that space no one during his reign disobeyed his orders, if they did so, he gave them to the sword. When he found that there were none to give trouble, he was at ease and came to Thatta. In his time all the people, the soldiers, the Amírs, the ryots, etc., were very happy. He lived a long while at Thatta, till from this world he journeyed to the next world.

"After the death of Khafif, the people, the men of weight under government, and those out of employ, agreeing that it was proper, raised Dúdá, the son of Umar, and grandson of Pitthú, to the throne of the saltanat in his place. When all the affairs of the State were firm in his hands, Singhár, a zamíndár, pay his yearly taxes. He became acquainted" ၇



had lasted some time, when one day he spoke of Kachh in the following terms, in his presence, saying that he had heard that the Samma tribe had determined to come to Thatta to take it, and that he should be prepared for this. On hearing this, Dúdá, collecting forces out of number, marched to Kachh, and he severely twisted the ears of those people. Then a man of the Samma tribe named Lákha came as ambassador, bringing presents, and a Kachhí horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Dúdá, with great kindness, gave him presents in money, a horse, and a khul'at, allowing him then to depart. From thence, with heart at rest, he came to Tharí, where he spent a long time. All the people and ryots were so completely under his hands, that without orders from him they did nothing. When at Tharí, Ran Mal Sodha came, and making his salám, urged as a petition, that in the time of Khafif the Jat Bulúchís paid tribute, but that now it seemed that they, through ignorance, had taken their heads from out of the noose of submission. He added, that having heard of this he made him (Dúdá) acquainted with it, and that it seemed advisable that a force should be put under him, which he would take against them, and thus, making them pay up their arrears of tribute from the days of Khafif to the present time, he would bring it to him. The reason of his speaking in this way was, that formerly a feud existed between him (Ran Mal) and the Jharejas, when a fight had taken place between the parties, in which great numbers of Ran Mal's men had been killed and wounded, so he told as above to Dúdá to enable him to have his revenge upon them. Dúdá being of a good heart, gave him encouragement, keeping him near him. He also sent to call the men of Jhareja. When his messengers got there, and told what Ran Mal had said, they came before them with their swords suspended from round their necks, making their salám, and declaring that they and all their families were the slaves of Dúdá, and if he ordered them all to be confined they would not ask the reason why. Then taking presents for Dúdá they came to him in one week. The messengers who accompanied them having received good treatment at their hands, spoke in their favour. Dúdá said to Ran Mal, 'These men

having great confidence, have sent only two of their tribe, and these have come to make their salam, you told me another story' Dúdá for some time detained Ran Mal on the plea of its being the rainy season, but in Ran Mal's breast that thorn pricked him, so one day with great earnestness he insisted upon being allowed to depart, when Dúdá gave him leave, and he went to his tribe. On getting there he became rebellious. Seeing this Ram Rái Jhareja and Míhrán Buluch, quickly going to Dúdá, told him of this circumstance. It came into Dúdá's mind that probably these men were doing what Ran Mal had done, therefore he determined in the first place to send two men to Ran Mal who, ascertaining all the facts might come and tell him. He despatched two men, at the time of whose arrival at the tribe Ran Mal was absent, he having gone to the jungle.

came as ambassadors, bringing presents to Dúdá, and they obtained forgiveness of their faults

“Dúdá after this went to Nasrúpúr, the *Zamíndárs*, chief men and *Lázís* of which place brought him presents, and Dúdá, accepting these, remained there some time, during which period Sáhíba, the son of Ran Mal Sodha, brought two fine Kachhí horses as an offering and paid his respects to him. He declared that his brethren had induced Ran Mal to turn his heart from and become rebellious against him (Dúdá), so much so that these men were even now disobedient, and that if a force went from the *Sarkár* and punished them they would not do so again, but would always bring presents. Dúdá upon this left Nasrúpúr and by forced marches came there, but after doing so he discovered that the brethren of Ran Mal and others would not agree to have Sáhíba as their *sardár*, so he understood that it was on this account that he had brought him there. Dúdá then summoned all the tribe, telling them to agree to have Sáhíba as their chief with all their hearts. By this order they agreed to do so when Sáhíba presented Rs 20,000 as *nazránd*. Dúdá marching thence came to Thatta, remaining there. From thence he travelled to that other world.

“On the death of Dúdá his son Umar<sup>1</sup> with the aid of the nobles and other men of courage sat on the throne. When his father's country came into his hands he took to drinking wine, paying no attention to the country. On hearing this the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and Bulúchís left off obeying his orders, becoming rebellious. When Mullá Hámíd heard of this he told Umar of it, who collecting a large force went towards Kachh. On his approach the Sammas having collected many men, went out into the plain to meet him. There was fighting in which the men of Samma were the strongest. Seeing this, and that his affairs would be ruined, Mullá Hámíd called the *sardárs*, to whom he gave presents, saying, “Thatta is far distant, money is scarce, if you fight well and defeat the enemy, much property will come into our possession, which will be enough to enable us to return to Thatta.” Hearing this the spirits of his force

<sup>1</sup> [This name is always spelt with “m” in this extract.]

were raised, and making an attack on the enemy they defeated them, when much plunder of every kind came into their hands. After this the men of Samma bringing Rájá Jagannáth Sodha (who had quitted his brethren in anger and had come to Kachh), as their mediator, came to Umar, making their salám and bringing presents. Umar returning from thence quickly went against the Sodhas, Jats, and Bulúchus, all of whom fearing the consequences, made their salám. He then with confidence in his heart went to Tharí, where he died.

“At this time his son Dúdá was small, therefore the men of consequence put Chanar, the son of Umar's brother, in his place. Chanar went out to make his arrangements in his country. Having done this and placed the troublesome on the edge of the sword, his heart being at ease he sat down. At that time Dúdá attained puberty, so Chanar wished, by some stratagem, to get him into his hands and to confine him. But hearing of this Dúdá turned his face towards Ghazní, and crossing the river he came to a place Daryácha Nári Sang, close under Fathpur, where he saw a man coming along with a bundle of sticks for *hulka* snakes, on his head. As this man drew near all his entrails became visible to Dúdá. At this he was much astonished, so calling the man to him, he lifted the bundle of pipes off his head, when nothing of the kind was to be seen. So being greatly amazed he put the bundle on the man's head again, when he beheld as before. He then knew that there must be some device in these sticks, and he purchased them, giving the man some money for them. Then sitting down at the river's edge, he put the sticks one by one into the water. All went down with the stream, but one from amongst them went upwards against it. So taking this one, he divided it at all the knots, he then put each knot into the water. All of them went down the stream, except one, in which the device was, and this one went up against the current. So taking this one he kept it, and went to Ghazní. At that time the king of that place, Sultán Maudúd Sháh, was ill from severe sickness, which was without cure. So on his arrival there, Dúdá gave out that he was a doctor. Historians write that Sultán Maudúd's sick-

slew him, and placed his head over the gate of the city. The assembled people then placed Unar on the throne.

*Jám Unar,<sup>1</sup> son of Babimya*

Jám Unar with the assent of the nobles thus became King, and the great body of the people supported him. He led an expedition against Siwistán, then governed by Malík, the representative of the Turk kings.<sup>2</sup> Reaching the vicinity of Siwistán he drew up his army in battle array, Malík Ratan also came out of the fort with his force, and the battle began. In the first contest Jám Unar was defeated, but his brothers came up to his assistance, and he renewed the fight. Malík Ratan, in galloping his horse, was thrown to the ground, and Jám Unar cut off his head. The fort of Siwistán then fell into Unar's power. Malík Fíroz and 'Alí Sháh Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakkar, and they wrote a letter to Jám Unar to the following effect. "This boldness is unbecoming, so now prepare to meet the royal army, and make a brave stand." These words took effect upon him, and he proceeded to Tharí.<sup>3</sup> He then fell ill and died after reigning three years and six months. Some writers relate that after Jam Unar returned from the conquest of Siwistán, he was one night engaged drinking wine in a convivial party, when news was brought of a party of rebels having risen against him. He instantly sent against them Gáhar, son of Tamáchi, who was his *vakil*. Gáhar was drunk when he encountered them and was made prisoner. The enemy held him captive, and Jám Unar kept up his carouse without heeding the captivity of his officer. This rankled in the breast of Gáhar, and when he escaped, by a well-contrived stratagem, from the clutches of his captors, he turned away from Jám Unar and went to the fort of Bhakkar. There he had an interview with 'Alí Sháh Turk, who in concert with Malík Fíroz, raised a force and slew Jám Unar in the fort of Bahrámpúr. Malík Fíroz was left in command of the fort, and 'Alí Sháh returned home. Three days afterwards Jám Unar's followers

<sup>1</sup> [Morley has a note upon the varied spelling of this name, but Sir H. Elliot's MS specifies how the name is pointed, making it "Unar," which is the spelling most generally accepted.]

<sup>2</sup> [ارعمال سلاطین ترک]

<sup>3</sup> [سمہری in A in شہری]

managed by craft and stratagem to kill both Gáhar son of Tamáchí and Malík Fíroz

*Jám Juna son of Bábinya*

After the death of Jám Unar, Juna, of the tribe of Samma, received the title of Jám. He conceived the design of subduing all Sind. Showing great kindness and attention to his brethren and other relatives, he appointed them to further his designs upon the country. These men crossed (the river) at the village of Talahtí, and began to kill the people and lay waste the villages and towns of Bhakkar. Two or three desperate fights ensued between the Sammas and the chiefs of Bhakkar, but as the Turks were unable to withstand the Sammas they withdrew from the fort of Bhakkar and retired to Uch. When Jám Juna heard of their retreat, he proceeded to Bhakkar, and for some years reigned supreme over Sind. But at length Sultán 'Aláu-d dín appointed his brother, Ulugh Khán to the district of Multán. Ulugh Khán then sent Taj Káfúr and Tatár Khán to oppose Jam Juna in Sind, but before their arrival the Jám died of gunsey. He had reigned thirteen years. The forces of 'Alau-d dín took possession of the Bhakkar and then directed their efforts against Siwistán.

*Jám Tamáchí (and Jám Khairu-d dín)*

This prince ascended his hereditary throne with the assent of the nobles. The army of 'Aláu-d dín after some fighting, took him prisoner, and carried him with his family prisoners to Dehli. There he had children.<sup>1</sup> But the Samma tribe brought them to Tharí, and keeping them prisoners took the business of government into their own hands, and exerted themselves in carrying on the affairs of the State. After the lapse of some time and the death of Jám Tamáchí, his son Malík Khairu-d dín, who, in infancy, had gone to Dehli with his father, returned to Sind and assumed the government. Shortly afterwards, Sultán Muhammad Sháh proceeded to Guzerát by way of Sind, and summoned Jám Khairu-d dín to his presence. But

<sup>1</sup> [There appears to be some confusion here. MS. A says, اورا در اسرا فریدان شدد. B omits the word *ord*, but agrees in other respects. Malet's translation says, "where he remained in confinement." The copyists have perhaps confounded the words *farzandun*, children, and *zindán*, prison.]

came known, the uncles started in pursuit, but at this juncture, the chief men of the city, seeing the strife and commotion, brought forth Jám 'Alí Sher from his concealment, and raised him to the throne. Jám Nizámu-d dīn died about this time, and his uncles turned back with shame and loss, and passed into the desert.

### *Jám 'Alí Sher*

Jám 'Alí Sher mounted the throne with the consent of the great men and nobles, and opened wide the gates of justice and kindness. He was wise and brave, and he immediately devoted himself to the duties of government. The country of Sind was brought into a due state of order, all the people passed their days in security and ease under his rule. After a time he devoted himself more to pleasure, and he used to roam about in moonlight nights. Sikandar, Karan, and Fath Khán, sons of Tamúchí, who were living in sorry plight in the desert, became acquainted with Jám 'Alí Sher's mode of recreation. So they set forth, and travelling by night and hiding themselves by day, they reached the outskirts of the city. Here they won over a party of the people of the city. On the night of Friday, the 13th day of the month, 'Alí Sher, according to his custom, went out with a party of companions and followers, and embarked in a boat for an excursion on the river. At midnight he was about to return into his house, when a party of men with drawn swords made an attack on him. The people who were with him strove without avail to divert them from their purpose, and the Jám was instantly despatched. The murderers then entered the palace, when a noise and outcry arose, and the fact became known. The people assembled, but they perceived that matters were beyond their control, and accordingly they submitted. Jám 'Alí Sher had reigned seven years.

### *Jám Karan*

After the murder of Jám 'Alí Sher, the brethren assented to the elevation of Jám Karan. He was displeased with the nobles and great men of the city, and in his aversion to them he sought to take them prisoners, and then to slay some and confine the rest. On the very day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to

attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber, when a party of men, who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him in pieces. Fath Khán, son of Sikandar, had been the prime mover in this murder, and so, with the assent of the soldiers and people, he ascended the throne.

### *Jám Fath Khan*

Jám Fath Khán, on his accession to the throne, confirmed all the rules and orders of government, and was very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State. At that time Mírzá Pír Muhammad, grandson of Sáháb-kirán Amír Tímúr Gurgán, had been sent to Multán and had taken that town and the town of Uch also. He stayed there for awhile and many of his horses died. The Mírzá's soldiers were thus dismounted and in distress. When Tímúr heard of this, he sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mírzá. Being thus reinforced, he made an attack upon the people of Bhattí and Ahan,<sup>1</sup> who had rebelled, and gave them and their families to the winds of destruction. He then sent a person to Bhakkar and summoned all the chief men to his presence. The officers of the king of Dehli being unable to withstand him, fled by way of Jesalmír. One of the inhabitants of Bhakkar, Sayyid Abú-l L'aís by name, a man of piety and purity, hastened to meet the Mírzá, and offering his devotions to the Chief of the prophets, he besought his intercession in his midnight prayers. It is said that one night the Chief of the prophets appeared to Mírzá Pír Muhammad in a dream and spoke to him of Sayyid Abú-l L'aís, saying, "This is my son, show him honour and respect, and abstain from molesting him." The Mírzá awoke, and remained for eleven days in expectation of seeing the friend of his dream. The Sayyid then arrived while the Mírzá was seated in his court with the nobles around him. When his eye fell upon the Sayyid he recognized him, and arose to give him a proper reception. He embraced him and seated him by his side with great honour and reverence. The nobles then made enquiry about the Sayyid, and the Mírzá related to them his dream. On that day he gave the Sayyid a horse and some pre-

<sup>1</sup> ["Aman" in B]



sents, and allowed him to depart. He also conferred upon him the *pargana* of Alor in *in'ám*. After *Timúr* had captured Dehli, *Mírzá Pn Muhammad* departed thither. In the days of the succeeding kings of Dehli, *Multán* came under the authority of the *Langáhs* and the whole of *Sind* remained subject to its own kings. *Jám Fath Khán* was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He reigned for fifteen years and some months up to the time of his death.

### *Jám Tughlik, son of Sikandar*

When *Jám Fath Khán* was on the bed of sickness, and saw his end approaching, three days before his decease he placed his brother *Tughlik Sháh* upon the throne, delivering over to him the reins of government, and giving to him the title of *Jám Tughlik*. Soon afterwards *Tughlik* appointed his brothers governors of *Siwistán* and the fort of *Bhakkar*. He spent most of his time in hunting and exercise. When the *Bulúchís* raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of *Bhakkar*, he led an army there and inflicted punishment on their chiefs. He reigned twenty-eight years.

### *Jám Sikandar*

*Jám Sikandar* succeeded his father, but he was young in years, and the rulers of *Siwistán* and *Bhakkar*, attending only to their own interests, refused obedience to him, and quarrelled with each other. *Jám Sikandar* left *Thatta* and proceeded towards *Bhakkar*, but when he reached *Nasrpur*, a person named *Mubárák*, who had been chamberlain in the time of *Jám Tughlik*, suddenly came into *Thatta*, and calling himself *Jám Mubárák*, seized upon the throne. But the people did not support him, and his authority lasted only three days, for the nobles drove him out of the city, and sent for *Sikandar*. When the news reached *Sikandar* he made terms with his opponents, and returned to *Thatta*. After a year and a-half he died.

### *Jám Rái Dan*<sup>1</sup>

On the sixth of *Jumáda-l awwal*, in the year 858 A H, (May 1454 A D), *Jám Rái Dan* came forth. During the reign of the *Jám Tughlik* he had lived in *Kachh*, and had formed connec-

<sup>1</sup> [The name appears to be written optionally as رایدن or رائدن, in both MSS.]

tions with the people of that country. He had maintained a considerable body of tried men, to whom he paid great attention, and to whom he used to give fine horses and other suitable presents. These men looked upon him as a wise and superior man, and devoted themselves to him with great sincerity. When he heard of the death of Sikandar, he proceeded with his entire force to Thatta, and there assembling the people, he addressed them to the effect that he had not come to take the kingdom, but that he wanted to secure the property of the Musulmans, and to accomplish their wishes. He did not consider himself worthy of the throne, but they should raise some fitting person to that dignity, when he would be the first to give him support. As they could find no one among them who had ability for the high office, they unanimously chose him and raised him to the throne. In the course of one year and a half he brought the whole of Sind under his rule from the sea to the village of Kujariki and Kandharal, which are on the boundaries of Mathila and Ubbawar. When he had reigned eight years and a half the idea of sovereignty entered the head of Jam Samir, one of his attendants. He induced other of the attendants and followers to join him in his plot, and one day when Jam Rai Din was drinking wine in private, poison was put into the bottle which a servant handed to him. Three days after drinking thereof he died.

*Jám Sanjar*

Jám Sanjar was a handsome young man, and many persons being fascinated by his beauty, served him without stipend. It is related that before he came to the throne he was on friendly terms with an excellent *darwesh*. One night Sanjar went to visit the *darwesh*, and after the usual greeting told him that he wished to become ruler of Thatta, even if it were for only eight days. The *darwesh* replied, "Thou shalt be king for eight years." When Jám Rái Dan died, the nobles agreed in raising Jam Sanjar to the throne, and in delivering over to him the reins of government. Through the prayers of the *darwesh* he thus became king without any strife or opposition, and the people on every side submitted to his authority with willing obedience. In his reign Sind rose to a greater pitch of prosperity and splendour than it had ever attained before, and the soldiers and the people lived in great comfort and satisfaction. He was a great patron of learned and pious men and of *darweshes*. Every Friday he dispensed large sums in charity among the poor and needy, and settled pensions and stipends upon meritorious persons. It is related that before his time the rulers of Sind used to pay their judicial officers badly. When Sanjar became ruler, there was a *kázi* in Bhakkar, who had been appointed to the office by a former king, upon an insufficient salary. Finding himself underpaid, he used to exact something from the suitors in his courts. When this reached the ears of Jam Sanjar he summoned the *kázi* to his presence, and told him that he had heard of his taking money by force, both from plaintiffs and defendants. He acknowledged it, and said he should like to get something from the witnesses also, but that they always went away before he had an opportunity. The Jam could not help smiling at this, so the *kázi* went on to say that he sat all day in his court while his children at home went without breakfast and supper. The Jám made the *kázi* some handsome presents, and settled a suitable stipend upon him. He further directed that proper salaries should be appointed for all officers throughout the country, so that they might be able to maintain themselves in comfort. When he had reigned eight years he departed from this world of trouble.

*Jam Nizámu-d dín, also called Jám Nanda*

Nizámu-d dín succeeded Jám Sanjar on the 25th Rabíu-l awwal, in the year 866 (December, 1461 A D ) All men—the learned and the good, the soldiers and the peasants—agreed in his elevation, so that he raised firmly the standard of sovereignty It is recorded that at the outset of his career he was a student, and spent much of his time in colleges and monasteries He was modest and gentle, and had many excellent and pleasing qualities. His life was pure and religious to a high degree It is impossible to enumerate all his virtues In the early part of his reign, he proceeded with a force to Bhakkar and staid there for a year engaged in suppressing the highway robbers He stored the fort of Bhakkar with all kinds of provisions, and appointed as governor one of his dependants, Dilshád by name, who had served him while at college The frontiers were so well secured that travellers could pass along the roads in perfect safety Having satisfied himself in respect of Bhakkar, at the end of a year he returned to Thatta. There he reigned supreme for forty-eight years, and during this period, learned men and pious men and *fakírs* passed a happy time, and the soldiery and the peasantry were in easy circumstances. Jám Nizámu-d dín was cotemporary with Sultán Husain Langáh, the ruler of Multan They were on the most friendly terms, and were in the constant habit of sending presents to each other Jám Nizámu-d dín used to visit his stables every week, and used to stroke the heads of his horses, and say to them, “My dear and happy steeds, I have no desire to ride you, for within my four boundaries all the rulers are Musulmán—do you also pray that I may not go out against any one without a lawful cause, and that no one may come up against me, lest the blood of innocent Musulmán should be spilled, and

Nizámu-d dín, the army of Sháh Beg came from Kandahár and attacked the villages of Lakrí, Chandúka and Sindícha. The Jám sent a large force to repel this attack of the Moghals, and it advanced as far as Dara-karib, commonly known by the name of Jalúgar. A battle ensued in which the brother of Sháh Beg was slain, and his army defeated. The remnant fled towards Kandahár, and no further attack was made upon Sind during the life of Nizámu-d dín. The Jám spent much of his time in discoursing and arguing upon matters of science with the learned men of the day. Mauláná Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Díwání formed the project of leaving Shíráz and going to Sind, so he sent Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'ín, two of his disciples, to Thatta, in order to get permission for taking up his residence there. The Jám accordingly allotted some suitable houses, and provided the means for his maintenance, he further supplied the messengers with money to pay the expences of the journey, but the Mauláná died before they returned. Mír Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'ín were so well satisfied with the attention they had received, that they came back to Thatta and settled there. Some time after this Jám Nizámu-d dín died, and after his death all the affairs of Sind fell into disorder.

### *Jam Fíroz*

Upon the death of Nizámu-d dín, his son Jám Fíroz was of tender age. So Jam Saláhu-d dín, one of the late Jám's relatives and the son of Jam Sanjár's daughter, advanced pretensions to the crown, but Darya Khán and Sárang Khán, the confidential slaves of Nizámu-d dín who were high in dignity and power, refused to support him, and with the consent of the nobles and head men of Thatta they placed Jam Fíroz on the throne in succession to his father. Saláhu-d dín finding that he could only succeed by fighting, lost heart, and went to Guzerát to lay his case before Sultán Muzaffár. The Sultán had married a daughter of Saláhu-d dín's uncle, and was consequently well inclined towards him. Jám Fíroz gave way to the impulses of youth, and devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He spent most of his time in the harem, but went out from time to time accompanied by slaves and jesters, who practised all sorts of tricks and buffoonery. The people of the Samma tribe, and the

associates of the Jám treated the people of the city with violence, and when Daryá Khán forbade them they treated him with scorn. The Khán, therefore, retired to his *jagír* in the village of Káhán. In those days Makhdúm 'Abdu-l-'Azíz Abhari and his two sons, Mauláná Asílu-d dín and Mauláná Muhammad, all of them learned men, came to that village of Káhán and spent some years there teaching and diffusing knowledge. The cause of their coming from Hirát was the rebellion of Shah Isma'íl in the year 918 A H (1512 A D). The above-named Mauláná was well read in all the sciences, and he had excellent books upon every branch of learning. He compiled a commentary on the *Mishkát* (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masúd<sup>1</sup> and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books. He died in this village of Káhán, and his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Jám Fíroz continued to give himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the nobles being on the verge of ruin, a messenger was sent to Jám Saláhu-d dín to inform him how matters stood, that Fíroz was generally drunk, that Daryá Khán, the great supporter of the government, had retired to Káhán, and that the moment was opportune for his returning immediately. Saláhu-d dín showed the letter of the men of Thatta to Sultán Muzaffar, and he sent him off with an army to that place. Making forced marches he soon arrived there, and crossing the river entered the city. Jám Fíroz's followers were dismayed, and led him out of the city on the other side. Saláhu-d dín then ascended the throne. He fined and punished the associates of Jám Fíroz, and demanded their wealth. The mother of Jám Fíroz<sup>2</sup> took him to Daryá Khán, at Káhán, where he asked forgiveness for his errors, and the Khán remembering only old obligations, began to collect forces, and when the armies of Bhakkar and Siwistán were assembled, they met under the banners of Jám Fíroz. The Bulúchís and other tribes also mustered. Daryá Khán placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched against Saláhu-d dín. This prince wished to go out himself to the sanguinary meeting, but his *wazír* Hájí deemed it advisable that the

Jám should stay in the city while he led the war-elephants against the enemy, so the Jám stayed at home and the *wazir* went to the fray. When the armies met, the fire of battle raged furiously, and many were slain on both sides, but at length the troops of Daryá Khán were defeated and put to flight. Háji wazir then sat down to write a despatch to Saláhu-d dín informing him that victory had favoured his colours, and that he might deem himself secure. Night came on and the *wazir* was unable to pursue the routed army, so it happened that his messenger fell into the hands of some of Daryá Khán's men. As soon as Daryá Khán had read the letter he destroyed it, and substituted another in the name of Háji wazir, to this effect—"Your army has been defeated, and the enemy is overpowering, you must leave Thatta with your family, and make no delay,—we will meet again in the village of Cháchgán." As soon as this letter arrived, on the night of the 9th Ramzán, Saláhu-d dín departed without breaking his fast, and crossed the river. Defeat had indeed reached him. He had reigned eight months. When he met his *wazir*, the latter reproached him for running away, and asked him why he had come there. The false despatch was then produced, upon which the Háji exclaimed that he had not written it. At length they discovered that it was the crafty work of Daryá Khán, and were sorely annoyed,—but when a matter is completed repentance is useless. Daryá Khán pursued them some stages. He then brought back Jám Firoz and entered Thatta on the day of the *'Idu-l fitr* (at the close of the Ramzán) and going to the *'idgáh* they offered up their prayers. After this, Jám Firoz reigned securely for some years, until the end of the year 916<sup>1</sup> A.H. (1511 A.D.), when Sháh Beg Arghún invaded Sind.

The battles which followed are described in their proper places. I have never met with any written account of the history of the Súmrás and Sammas, so I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this.

<sup>1</sup> [So in both MSS, but Malet's translation has "926" (1520 A.D.) which is correct.]

## BOOK III

*The Wonders of Sîwî*

The fort of Sîwî, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood

In Kor-zamîn and Chhatur, which are districts of Sîwî, cotton plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted On each cotton plant there are one or two hundred snakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the boles If any one is bitten by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and suck out the poison, otherwise death would supervene

The little river which runs by Sîwî rises apparently from a sulphureous source, and any one who drinks the water of it falls sick Many men have died from that cause, but it does not affect the inhabitants who are accustomed to it Notwithstanding that the garrison was changed every year by Sultân Mahmûd, most of the soldiers died from its bad effects, and only a few escaped In the time of Akbar, a flood came and purged the sources of the river from the sulphur, since which time the sickness has been less This river runs fifty *los* beyond Sîwî, collecting at Sarwâh, where it is used in irrigation, and the water which is not expended for that purpose flows into the lake of Manchhûr, which is near Sîwistân

On that lake also there are many snakes<sup>1</sup>, very long and thin, the bites of which few survive The men in that neighbourhood wear long drawers to protect themselves against their bites I myself, when I was there looking at the men irrigating their fields, saw several at every step my horse took. As it was hot, I wished to dismount on the shore of the lake, but for fear of the snakes, I was compelled to do so at a distance on the plain beyond

In the plain of Sîwî there were formerly many forts and cultivation, but all is now waste, the soil is not good

<sup>1</sup> ["*Mdr*"] The description seems



there Between Siwí, Dehra, and Kasmúr,<sup>1</sup> there is a tract of land called Bárgán, which breeds horses not inferior to those of 'Irák The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills

At Chhatur there is a tribe called Kaharí, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted, and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse

Near Ganjáva, which is a district of Siwí, water springs from a hill, and covers a large extent of ground Fishes are found in it Amongst the hills of Ganjáva there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed, but it cannot be got at If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars, and the earth recedes

The hills of Sitúr and the river Ábkashída run in a sort of semicircle from Siwí to Ganjáva<sup>2</sup> Between these places there is a waste, through which the road to Kandahár runs Its length from the river to Siwí is a hundred *kos*, and its breadth sixty In summer the hot wind blows over this track for four months

### *The Wonders of Kandahár.*

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At the hill called Síbuda<sup>3</sup> the rock was scarped, and a lofty arched recess called Peshták was cut by order of the Emperor Bábar Eighty stone-masons were employed nine years in its completion It is indeed a very pleasant place, overlooking the waters of the Arghand, gardens and cultivated fields In spring many people resort there, but it is difficult to reach on account of its steep ascent Within this recess are inscribed the names of Bábar Bádsháh, and of his trusty adherents, Mírzá Kámrán, Mírzá 'Askarí, and Mírzá Hindál As his majesty Humáyún had never visited the spot, his name was not included in that inscription Of all his dominions

<sup>1</sup> [This name is so written by Malet. One MS writes it "Mastúr," the other is illegible.]

<sup>2</sup> [The MSS differ here and the meaning is somewhat doubtful.]

<sup>3</sup> [So in MS A The other MS has "Sarmúr," and Malet "Sípúza"]

Kandahár was the only place mentioned<sup>1</sup> When I visited the spot it came into my head that I would inscribe his name there, as well as that of his august son (Akbar) with their thousands of tributary cities and kingdoms, like Kandahár and Kábul I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakkar, and had the names of these kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengal to Bandar Lúharí, from Kábul and Ghazní to the Dekhun, without any omission It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration Below the hills there is a cavern not far off It was from the other extremity of this, that Bábu Hasan Abdal brought out the golden brick The distance between these two ends is seven or eight kós

On the same hill near Kandahár, *mukhlisa* is found, which is an antidote against snake bites and other poisons, and it is found nowhere else in that country On that hill also there is a fire temple of a very ancient date It is built of unburnt bricks, each two yards long and broad, and one span thick The temple exists to this day, and has sustained no injury

In Kandahár there used to be plague<sup>2</sup> and sickness every year, till Sháh Tahmásp directed Sultán Husain Mírzá, governor of that province, to plant canes on the stream which flows near the town, and the water of which the people use for drinking Since that, the sickness has abated, but even now in some seasons plague and disease break out with great intensity, blood being passed from the belly, nostrils, ears, and mouth When I went there, in the reign of his late majesty, Akbar, to render assistance, it was at its height, and in the year 1007 H (1598 A.D.) nearly two hundred soldiers died of this disease

With the Hazára tribes near Kandahár, it is not the practice to wear coloured clothes such as white, red and black, \* \* \* nor is there any trade in clothes and shoes of this kind. Among the saints buried near Kandahár may be mentioned \* \* \* Baba Hasan Abdál, a descendant of the Sayyids of Sabzawár After a pilgrimage to the holy cities, he accompanied Mírzá Sháh Rukh, son

<sup>1</sup> [A negative seems to be required here If supplied, the sentence will read "Kandahár was not even mentioned as forming part of his realm"]

<sup>2</sup> ["*Wadd*", also used to designate Cholera.]

of Sáhīb-Kirán (Tímúr) to Hindústán On his return he spent some years in Langar Kandahar, and died there His tomb is on an elevated spot surrounded by villages, and overlooking the Arghandáb, and to it, as to a place of pilgrimage, men and women, little and big, low and high-born, resort on Fridays in great crowds, so that the city is sometimes empty. It is certainly a charming retreat, and travellers say they have seen few spots to compare with it

#### BOOK IV

#### *Account of the country of Sind passing into the hands of the officers of the Emperor Akbar after the death of Sultán Mahmúd Khán*

I have before related how Kísú Khán came to Bhakkar on the 12th Jumáda-l awwal 982 Hiyri (August 1574) bringing with him an imperial farmán, in which he was directed to divide Bhakkar equally between Muhib 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán, and then to proceed to Thatta and make Muhammad Báki Tarkhán prisoner

At that time Mujáhid Khan was in the country of Ganjáva, but when he heard of Kísú Khán's arrival at Bhakkar, he hastened to meet him there But before he arrived Kísú Khán sought to clear out the fort of Sakhar<sup>1</sup> Mujáhid Khán's men procrastinated, but Kísú Khán disapproving of this, sent off a force to Sakhar Wakíl Khán who was the representative of Mujáhid Khán, fought upon the wall which Mujáhid Khán had built round Sakhar, and several persons on both sides were killed, and more were wounded Three days after the fight, Mujáhid Khán arrived and took away his men to Lohari Sakhar then reverted entirely into the power of Kísú Khán, but towards Lohari the *pargana* of Bhakkar was in the possession of Muhib 'Alí Khán and Mujahid Khan.<sup>2</sup> The men who had assembled (to support them) were broken-hearted. At this juncture, some of the Arghun people deserted them and came to Bhakkar, where Kísú Khán had them put to death upon the malevolent suggestion of Sháh Bába, son of Jan Bába Turkhán Kísú

<sup>1</sup> [MS B says "Bhakkar"]

<sup>2</sup> [So according to MS A, a whole line is omitted from B by mistake of the copyist Malet says "Muhib 'Alí and Mujáhid Khán held Rori and Tiggarr"]

Khán was a severe harsh-tempered man, and one day Barjí Tawají having been guilty of some fault, he had irons placed upon his feet in the presence of his court.

Two months afterwards, Mujáhid Khán went up against Thatta, leaving Muhib 'Alí Khán in charge of their families. He halted for a few days at the town of Ránpúr in order to outfit his force. Kísú Khán, at the instigation of the men of Bhakkar, sent an army against Loharí. On Friday, the 2nd of Ramzan 982 A.H. (December 1574), having divided his army into two parts he crossed over the river. One division he directed by way of the gardens of the city towards Loharí, and the other he embarked in *ghrábs* and boats and sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khwája Khizr. Muhib 'Alí Khán's men mounted and went towards the '*id-gáh*. Kísú Khán's followers arrived in their *ghrábs* and set fire to Mujáhid Khán's boats, and when the flames rose high, the horsemen fell back and went towards their homes. At this time Kísú Khán's horsemen came up and threw rockets<sup>1</sup> into the city and set it on fire in several places. Muhib 'Alí Khán then mounted his horse and fled. The men of Bhakkar now entered the city and pillaged until evening, capturing the standard and kettle drum of Muhib 'Alí Khán which they bore off with them to the fort. When the intelligence reached Mujáhid 'Alí Khán he returned by forced marches to Loharí, but he was greatly dispirited, and in consideration of the royal power he refrained from molesting Kísú Khán<sup>2</sup>. The latter established himself in the fort of Bhakkar and practiced great injustice. When the Emperor Akbar became acquainted with these facts he placed the country under the charge of Tarsún Khán, and in the beginning of Muharram 983 A.H. (April 1575) Muhammad Táhir Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad Saifu-l Mulk, and Muhammad Kásim Khán and Mírza Muhammad Sultán arrived at the town of Loharí, and sent to Kísú Khán a copy of the *farmán* conferring the *jágir* of Bhakkar (on Tarsún Khán). Kísú Khán was at first inclined to resist and to set these men at defiance, but when the matter came to be talked over, he went to the chief of the

<sup>1</sup> [*Hukkahde dtish*]

<sup>2</sup> [The MSS differ slightly here, ~~text is not~~ to be as rendered.]

none appears

*sayyids*, who sent some priests and a party of men to the three *sardárs* to give them counsel. The *sardárs* detained them all, and desired them to write a true statement of affairs and send it to the Emperor. The priests begged to be excused, but said they would write if both parties were present. The *sardárs* replied that Kísú Khán's agents were present, and that if the priests would write the truth in their presence, no further trouble would be given them. The priests then entered upon the business. As soon as Kísú Khán heard this he was alarmed, for he saw that matters were going wrong, and that the forthcoming memorial would be ruinous to him. He therefore sent to say that he would give up the fort and that they need not write. The Kháns sent word back that the memorial was written, and that they would keep it ready. If he did not surrender the fort the letter should be sent to the Emperor—so Kísú Khán having no other remedy, conducted the Kháns into the fort.

An order had been issued by the Emperor that Kísú Khán, in concert with the brethren of Tarsún Muhammad Khán, the *sayyids*, and the chief men, should make enquiry about the treasure, houses, and effects of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and send a detailed account thereof to the Court. In obedience to the Royal orders, the people of Sultán Mahmúd's harem were sent to the presence, and his chief wife, sister of Jahán Khán, was sent to Lahore. At the same time, Khwájá Saraf, Rai Singh Darbári, and Banwálí Das Navísinda arrived for the purpose of settling the affairs of the treasure and of the people of the harem of Sultán Mahmud. Having afterwards looked into the matter of the treasure at Loharí, they proposed to return by way of Nágor in the beginning of Rajab of the year above-named.

When Tarsún Muhammad Khán received permission to depart from the Court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l Mulk on the borders of the country, so he was appointed governor of Ágra and a change was made in respect of Bhakkar, for Banwálí Dás was sent there to take charge of the revenues and general affairs. Afterwards, for better security, Mir Saiyid Muhammad was dignified with the office of *Mir-i 'adl* (Chief Justice), with a *mansab* of 1000, and appointed governor of

Bhakkar On the 11th of Ramzán of the year above-mentioned, he arrived at Bhakkar, and the ministers of religion and the chief men waited upon him to show due honour and respect. He then gave 50,000 *bighas* of land to the *sayyids*, learned men and others in portions suited to the position of each one. The ministers of religion enjoyed a happy time during his administration. In the early part of his rule he sent a force against the Mankínjas of the district of Gágri who were rebellious, and had opposed his officers. He acted oppressively towards the ryots in revenue matters, for he fixed by measurement a payment of five *mans* per *bigha* upon all lands alike, and the revenue officers, whom he appointed, dealt harshly with the cultivators. The troops of the *Mir-i 'adl* arrived at a small fort between Gambaz and Bajrín. The Mankínjas showing no respect, shot arrows at them, and several of the soldiers were killed. There was a well in the fort into which the graceless wretches threw the bodies both of Musulmans and infidels, and filled it up with earth. The *Mir-i 'adl* was enraged at this, and sent for reinforcements from Siwí, to take vengeance. After a short opposition, the Mankínjas left their home and took to flight. Sayyid Abú-l Fazl, the *Mir-i 'adl's* son, who commanded the troops, pursued them for some distance, and then returned to Bhakkar. Some time after this the *Mir-i 'adl* fell ill, he lost much blood and his weakness increased till he died on the 8th of Sh'abán, 984 A.H. (October 1576).

After his death, the Emperor appointed his son, Abú-l Fazl, to succeed him in the government of Bhakkar. In the following year Abú-l Fazl seized and confined the head men of Gágri, and afterwards caused two or three of them to be trampled to death by elephants. On the 9th of Zi'l hijja 985 A.H. (Feb 1578) I'timád Khán, an eunuch, and one of the emperor's trusty servants, came as governor to Bhakkar. He was a man of passionate temper and did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants, or nobles. Some of the ministers of religion were troubled by his conduct, and resolved to carry their complaints to the Emperor. The governor thereupon sent a person to them with excuses, but and resolutely determined to procure royal presence they stated their,

The Emperor replied that if he had oppressed the people in the way represented, he would be killed. And it turned out exactly as the royal tongue predicted, after this manner. He was an habitual jester and scoffer, and would utter vile and filthy expressions before good men, he also dealt niggardly with the troops, so on the 10th Rabī'u-l awwal 986 A.H. (May, 1578) a party of soldiers conspired and slew him in his hall of audience.

After the death of I'timād Khan the Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in *jágir* to Fath Khán Bahadúr, Raja Parmánand and Rája Todar Mal.<sup>1</sup> In the month of Rajab of the same year, the Khán and the other two grantees came to Bhakkar and took possession of their respective portions. Two years afterwards Parmánand proceeded to the Court in obedience to orders. The Dárijas afterwards quarrelled with his brother Mádhū Dás, and assembled in the town of Alor with hostile intent. Two or three fights followed, and men were slain on both sides. At length some turbulent fellows joined in the attack, so Fath Khan sent his own men to put them down. The insurgents were then beaten and dispersed. Fath Khan then went to Court, where he was received with great favour. His *mansab* was increased, and the *jágir* of Parmánand was assigned to him. Fath Khán was a simple-minded man, fond of money, who paid his thanks with his tongue, but he dealt kindly with the people and provided for their subsistence. He had a *vakíl* named Shaháb Khán, a *zamindár* of Samana, an inexperienced man, who knew nothing of business. At the instigation of one Faríd he attacked the people of Khán Nahar, and led a force against the fort of Kín-kot, which was in the hands of Ibráhim Náhar. A great battle followed, in which Fath Khán's fine men were slain. Shaháb Khán also fell with all his brothers. When intelligence of this reached the Emperor, he instantly resumed Fath Khan's *jágir* and assigned it to Nawwáb Muhammad Sádík Khán together with the duty of capturing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday the 12th Rabī'u-l awwal 994 A.H. (Feb 1586). The priests and others went out to meet him, and he received them all with honour and respect. For some time he stayed in Bhakkar setting its affairs in order, but in Zí-l hijja of the same year, he marched against Siwistán. Before

<sup>1</sup> [MS. B makes no mention of the last, and speaks of "the two" grantees.]

going on this expedition he fought with the men of Mirzá Jani Beg, many of whom were killed. The breeze of victory thus began to blow on the banners of Muhammad Sâdik. He then proceeded on his expedition. Meanwhile Subhân 'Alî Arghûn, who was in command of the enemy, had constructed a fort on the banks of the river, and had furnished it with munitions of war. He had also collected many *ghrabs* and boats there. When Muhammad Sâdik advanced the Arghûn came out in his *ghrabs* and gave battle, but he was defeated and taken prisoner alive, and many of his men were killed and wounded. Twelve *ghrabs* also fell into the hands of the victors. Greatly elated with these victories he laid siege to Siwistân. His operations occupied some time, but he at length sunk a large mine which carried away the gate in front of the fort. Instructions had been given that no man was to enter the fort without orders, so when the smoke and dust cleared off, the besieged set to work, closing up the breach and maintaining a fire from their cannons and guns (*top o'ufanq*). The party on the top of the gateway which had been blown into the air fell to the ground uninjured. Mirzá Jani Beg had now advanced with a force as far as Mîhrân, which is six fars from Siwân. In consequence of this, Muhammad Sâdik raised the siege and went to oppose his progress. When he came opposite the Lakka hills, the *ghrabs* of Mirzá Jani opened fire upon him. They continued fighting for several days, till an imperial *fîrman* arrived stating that Mirzá Jani Beg had sent suitable tribute to the Court, and had made humble and dutiful submission. Muhammad Sâdik therefore returned to Bhakkar, and after a short interval he repaired to Court. One year afterward his *jâgir* was taken from him. In the two *iharif* harvests that passed while Muhammad Sâdik held Bhakkar, locusts attacked the crops and famine ensued. Many men emigrated in various directions. The Samîyas and Bulûchis plundered both sides of the river and left nothing standing.

At the end of Rabî' u s sanî, 996 A H (Feb 1588), the *jâgir* of Bhakkar was granted to Ismâ'il Khân, and his son Rahman Kulî Beg came to the place. This young nobleman was wise, and treated the people with great kindness and consideration, so that through his gentle management they betook themselves once more to cultivation, and by their efforts the wasted land again became f.



When Isma'il Kulī Khān left Multan and went to the Court, the *jāgīr* was taken from him and granted to Shiroya Sultān. In the beginning of Muharram 997 A.H. (Nov 1588), he came to Bhakkar. He was addicted to wine, and left the management of his affairs in the hands of his purchased slaves. Night and day he was engaged in riot and debauchery, and but seldom sat in public court, or allowed any one to have access to him. The pensions and allowances to the fakirs were stopped. At one period Shaikh Sāngī received charge of the revenue and State business, and for a time he visited the shops and took possession of their money and business.<sup>1</sup> He sent his son Muhammad Husain Beg to subdue Sīwī, but the Afghans assembled and fiercely opposed him. His advanced guard was composed of Bulūchīs<sup>2</sup> who fled at the first attack. The main body was then assaulted. Many were slain and many taken prisoners. The rest were broken and put to flight, but the weather was hot, and large numbers died of thirst in the mirage. Those who escaped alive were a long time before they recovered. The walls occasioned by the violence and tyranny of Shiroya at length ascended to heaven, from whence the glad tidings of his removal came to the people of Bhakkar. They escaped from his malignity and once more lived in peace, for Muhammad Sādik Khān again received the *jāgīr*.

On the second of Rab'ū-l awwal 998 A.H. (December, 1589) Mirzā Muhammad Zāhid, son of Muhammad Sādik, came to Bhakkar. He treated the people with kindness and poured the balm of justice upon hearts wounded by tyranny. He was good-looking and good-natured, and he associated with learned and excellent men. He restored the pensions and allowances in accordance with the grants made by his father, and put a stop to oppression. Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm was Muhammad Sādik's *vakil*. He was a man of excellent qualities, and competent in all business. The people were re-assured and went about their cultivation and building. But a heavenly visitation fell upon the spring crop of that year, notwithstanding the care of the government, evil days ensued, and it was

<sup>1</sup> [A doubtful passage. The two MSS. do not agree.]

<sup>2</sup> [بلوچ یلدي بودند]

impossible to collect the taxes. A scarcity of food again occurred. About this time His Majesty the Emperor had to make a public example. When the Royal Court was removed to Lahore, Mírza Jání Beg, in imitation of Mírzá Sháh Husain, renounced his obedience, and pretended to independence. The Khán-i Khánán was accordingly sent to take Thatta and bring the Bulúchís under control. He reached the place in the month of Shawwál of the year aforesaid, between the autumnal and vernal harvests, and proceeded to set all things in order. At that time, I, the author of this history, proceeded from Ahmadábád in Guzerát to the Imperial Court. By good fortune my mother had sent some little curiosities, which I presented to his Majesty. Thereupon he enquired with great condescension how many years I had been absent from my mother. I replied that it was twenty years. He was graciously pleased to direct that I should go to visit my mother, and afterwards return to my duty. He further ordered the grant of a *jágir* to me. Thereupon, Muhammad Sádík came to my aid, and said that as I was going to Bhakkar, it would be very pleasant to have my *jágir* there. His Majesty said that Bhakkar had been granted in *jágir* to the Nawwáb Khán-i Khánán. The latter was present at the time and said that if His Majesty pleased to make me a grant in Bhakkar he would assign it over to me, but if so he hoped to receive an equivalent elsewhere. The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakkar, and the officials assigned to me the *parganas* of Durbela, Gágri and Ohandúka. After this was arranged, His Majesty in his great kindness and consideration gave me a boat and one of his own fur coats, and as he dismissed me he quoted the line—

“ Sit not down, but travel, for it is very sweet.”

On the 14th<sup>1</sup> Safar, 999 A H (Nov, 1590), I reached Bhakkar, where the Khán-i Khánán had arrived before me. The weather was hot and the river high, so he stayed some days there, but when the star Canopus appeared he dismissed me with Bahádur Khán, Mulla Mahmúdí, and some others. We went to Sihwán, and the Khán-i Khánán followed and overtook us there. The people of Sihwán closed the gates of their fort. The Khán-i Khánán then consulted

with his nobles as to whether it was better to march against Mírza Jání Beg in Thatta at once, or to stop and take Sihwán before proceeding. They all agreed that as Sihwán was in the direct road, and their men and boats must pass that way, it was desirable to secure it before going further. Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (*morchas*) were raised, and we began to take measures for scouring a passago over the river.<sup>1</sup> But intelligence came that Nawwáb Jání Beg had left Thatta with a powerful force and was advancing against us. So the siege was raised and our forces turned to oppose him. Jání Beg then threw up a sort of fort<sup>2</sup> on the bank of the river at the village of Loharí above Nasrpúr, and there strengthened his position. When the Khán-i Khánán came within about six kos from this fortified post Jání Beg sent 120 armed *ghrábs* and many boats under the command of Khusrú Khán and other officers, and also two armies, one on each bank of the river, to make a simultaneous attack on the camp of the Khán-i Khánán. To meet them our forces advanced a little on the bank of the river, where we raised some sand-works covering five or six *jarábs* of ground. Muhammad Mukím Khán Bakhshí, 'Alí Mardán Khán, Muríd Khán Sarmadí, and the writer of this history, with several other noblemen, were appointed to that humble fortification.<sup>3</sup> Our instructions were, that when the *ghrábs* came up they must necessarily pass in front of our fortified position, because just in front of it there was a large sand-bank from which they must cross over to reach our camp.<sup>4</sup> In fact, when Muhammad Mukím was sent there he was told that his business was to prevent any danger to the camp on that side. In the afternoon the *ghrábs* came up, when they perceived that on one side there was water with a sandbank, and on the other side water with a fort, so they arrested their progress, and guns from both sides announced the opening of the fight. In the course of the night the Khán-i Khánán sent a party over to the opposite side. The force which Jání Beg had appointed for the

<sup>1</sup> [The text says در مقام ساختن پاباب شدید The word *pad ab* commonly means "a ford"]

<sup>2</sup> [طرح قلعه انداخته]

<sup>3</sup> [قلعه]

<sup>4</sup> [باچار نایستی از چله عمور نموده ناردو رسید]

purpose assaulted our gate, but it had been well secured, and their efforts were vain. In the morning, the *ghrábs* came up in front of the camp. The guns in our fortification were pointed too high, so that the balls passed over the *ghrábs* and fell among our friends on the other side, killing several of them. The muzzles of the guns were then depressed, so that the balls passed through the *ghrábs* on our side of the river, and then touching the water rose again and crushed eight or nine boats (*lishiti*) killing a number of men.<sup>1</sup> But they were prepared for this—for in each *ghráb* there were carpenters who quickly repaired the damages. The fight was carried on and the firing continued in this way for that day. On one side was the fort and army of the Khán-i Khánan, on the other the sandbank, and the *ghrábs* must pass between them against a strong current. The battle continued till after mid-day, and the enemy had many men killed by the guns. They then saw that they could not pass the fort, and that they were losing many men, so they were compelled to retreat. The Khán-i Khánan's boats followed in pursuit and the army harassed them from the shore. Khusrú Khán acted judiciously keeping his own *ghrábs* in the rear he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingí fighting men on board fell into his hands. The royal *ghrab* had accompanied the *ghrab* of Khusrú Khán and unfortunately some fire from the latter reached the magazine of the royal vessel, and all it contained was burnt. Some of the crew escaped into other vessels which happened to be near, but a large proportion was killed. Still

ceed with a force to Sīhwán and take possession of the country of Thatta,—that another force should go to Badín and Fath-bágh, and that Sháh Beg Khán should march to besiege Sháh-garh, a place that had been built by Shah Kásim Arghún. The Khán-i Khánán accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badín, Fath Khán and Jún, and Sháh Beg besieged Sháh-garh. Sa'iyid Bahá'u-dín, the author, and several other attendants of the Khán-i Khánán, went to Síván, where many of the defenders were killed. When the garrison found that matters were going hard with them they wrote to Jání Beg that unless he came to their aid, the place must be lost. Upon learning this the Mírzá marched with great alacrity to Síván. When he had reached a point about twenty kos from us, we received intelligence of his advance. We held a council, and determined to fight him, so we raised the siege and marched to oppose his advance. When the Khán-i Khánán heard this he sent Muhammad Khán Niyázi and some other of his officers with reinforcements for us. We were near the Lakki hills when they joined us, and our united force then amounted to 1200 horse. Jání Beg was advancing through the hills with 10,000 horse, together with a numerous body of infantry and archers, and he had *ghirds* and cannon coming up the river. When he was six or seven kos distant, our leaders perceived that if we remained where we were, we might be attacked on every side. Jání Beg might attack us from the hills, the *ghirds* from the river, and the men of Sīhwán from the rear, so that we should be in a critical position. We therefore resolved to march on and meet him, and our forces were accordingly set in motion. Jání Beg received intelligence of our movement through his spies, but could not credit it, for he asked what our numbers could be, and what must be our presumption to venture on such a step. But the dust of our march then became visible to him, and he instantly proceeded to set his army in array. It was noon when the contending forces met. When our van-guard became engaged, some of the men took flight and fled. The enemy pursued, and coming up with our main body the battle became general. Three or four fierce charges were made, but at length the enemy were defeated. Jání Beg stood his ground and fought desperately, but seeing that all was over, he also fled. The enemy lost many men in

killed and prisoners. Jání Beg retreated to Unarpur,<sup>1</sup> twenty kos from the battle-field, where he raised a small fort and strengthened his position. We besieged the place, and after some days the Khán-i Khánán arrived in person. The batteries were pushed forward, and fighting went on every day, in which many on both sides were killed. Digging approaches to the fort, we reached the edge of the ditch, and raised there a mound of earth. Jání Beg was then reduced to despair, and offered terms. His proposal was to give over to us thirty *ghrábs* and the fort of Sihwán. He himself would return to Thatta but would meet us again afterwards. The Khán-i Khánán consulted with his officers, and they all agreed that Jání Beg was reduced to extremities, and that no terms should be made with him—it was a mere question of a day or two—and if he were allowed to return to Thatta he would probably change his mind. The Khan-i Khánán observed that if we assaulted the fort, many men on both sides would be slain, and that the wives and families of the garrison would fall into our hands and might be treated with indignity, for these reasons he would accept the terms, and would further obtain a *mansab* of 5000 from the Emperor for Jání Beg. No doubt his decision was sound. The representatives of Jání Beg then came into our lines, the terms were settled, the *ghrábs* were given up, a person was sent to Sihwán to secure the surrender of the fort, and Jání Beg himself set out for Thatta. The Khan-i Khánán stayed in the village of Samn during the inundations, but in the winter he departed for Thatta. When we approached Fath-bágh Jání Beg came forward to meet us, and there was an interview and friendly intercourse between the two chiefs. Leaving Jání Beg at this place the Khan-i Khánán proceeded to Thatta, and there he distributed among his officers and soldiers all the effects (*basát*) he had with him. He next went to Láhorí-bandar, where he gazed upon the sea (*dáryáe shor*). When he departed from this place he left Daulat Khan and Khwáin Mukim in charge. A royal mandate

statements of the Khán-i Khánán. The country of Thatta was graciously restored to him, and he was received into the royal service with a *mansab* of 5000. Still further favour was shown him, and Khusrú Khán was named to be his son-in-law.

When His Majesty set out for the Dekhán,<sup>1</sup> intent upon the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Kásim, on the 25th Rajab Mirzá Jání Beg died of brain fever, and upon the solicitation of Nawwáb Allání, the country of Thatta was granted to Mirzá Ghází Beg, son of the deceased Mirzá

<sup>1</sup> [It is at this point in MS *B* that there comes in abruptly the passage relating to Dúda, upon which some remarks have been made in page 215.]

## V.

## TARÍKH-I TAHIRÍ

THIS work is named after the author, Mír Táhir Muhammad Nasyání, son of Saiyid Hasan, of Thatta. The author, his father, and grandfather, were intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, and were dependants of the members of the former family. Táhir Muhammad, indeed, dedicates his work to, and writes it at the instigation of, Sháh Muhammad Bég 'Adíl Khán, son of Sháh Bég 'Adíl Khán Arghún, governor of Kandahár. The *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 74), styles Sháh Bég a Tarkhán, not an Arghún, and states that it was to him that the *Tarikh-i Tahiri* was dedicated.

The author, independent of what he says in his rambling preface of twenty pages, which is replete with the most fulsome adulation, gives us several incidental notices of himself and family in the course of his work<sup>1</sup>. We learn that in 1015 H (1606 A D), when Kandahár was beleaguered by the Persians, he went to Thatta to complete his education, and that he was then twenty-five years old. He placed himself under Maulána Ishák, a celebrated teacher, who was well instructed in Sufyism by an attentive perusal of Shaikh Sa'di, Jámi, Khákání, and Anwarí.

His maternal grandfather, 'Umar Sháh, and his son Dáúd Sehta, Chief of the Pargana of Durbela, afforded such effective aid to Humáyún, in his flight from Shír Sháh, that the Emperor wrote a document expressive of his satisfaction and of his deter-



restored to his throne At the instigation of Mahmúd Khán, the governor of Bhakkar, they were both put to death for this injudicious zeal, one being sewn up in a hide and thrown into the river from the battlements of Bhakkar, the other flayed alive, and his skin sent, stuffed with straw, to Mirzá Sháh Hasan Arghún The family fled to Ahmadábád in Guzerát The document above alluded to was unfortunately destroyed, when Mírza Jání Bég ordered Thatta to be fired on the approach of the imperial army The author, nevertheless, hoped to meet with his reward, should it ever be his good fortune to be presented to the reigning Emperor Jahángír In one part of his work he calls 'Umar Sháh by the title of *Jám*, from which we may presume that he was a Samma Dáúd, 'Umar's son, is also styled Sehta, and, from a passage in the Extracts, it will be seen that Jám Sehta, one of the descendants of the Samma refugees, is spoken of as one of the Chiefs of Kach

Táhir Muhammad informs us that, notwithstanding all the enquiries he made, he was not able to procure any work which dealt with the periods of history which he had undertaken to write There might, perhaps, have been some written in the Hindí character, but on that point he was ignorant This is disingenuous, for his early history must be derived from some written source, though he does not choose to declare what it was He quotes a poem by Mír Ma'súm Bhakkarí, and is, perhaps, indebted to his prose also, but to no great extent, for in describing the same events, our author is fuller, and his credulity induces him to indulge in strange anecdotes, which the other rejects His later history, in which he is very copious, is derived not only from his father, who was himself an actor in some of the scenes which he describes, but from other eye-witnesses, as well as his own observations His residence seems to have been chiefly at Durbela, but we hear of his being, not only at Kandahár and Thatta, as previously mentioned, but at Multán and Lahoro, so that, for a Sindian, we may consider him what Froissart calls a "well-travelled knight"

The *Tārīkh-i Tahiri* was completed in 1030 H (1621 A D), in the fortieth year of the author's age. Its style is bad and confused, and occasionally ambitious. We are told that it is divided into ten chapters (*tabka*), but they are not numbered beyond the fourth, and only seven can be traced altogether. The first, consisting of sixteen pages, is devoted to the Súmra dynasty. The second, of ten pages, to the Samma dynasty. The third, of 30 pages, to the Arghúns. The fourth and all the others, comprising 172 pages, to the Tarkháns—so that it is evident that to them he directs his chief attention, bringing their affairs down to the latest period, when Mirzá Ghází Bég was poisoned at Kandahár, in 1021 H (1612 A D), and the power of the Tarkháns was brought to a close even as *Jágirdars*—a title they were suffered to retain after their entire loss of independence under Mirzá Jání Bég. We have nothing on the subject of the Arab dominion in Sind, and the chapters upon the Súmras and Samma form no continuous narrative of their transactions. Even the later chapters are very deficient in dates, though there is no break in the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns. Where dates are inserted they are not

## EXTRACTS

*The Destruction of Alor*

From the year of the Hijri 700 (1300 A D ), until 843 (1439 A D ), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Súmra were the rulers of Sind, and that portion which is now flourishing was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Panjáb river, which is known by the above name below Bhakkar <sup>1</sup> No water flowed towards those regions, and water is the very foundation of all prosperity The capital of this people was the city of Muhammad Tur, which is now depopulated and is included in the *pargana* of Dirak Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment. Numbers of the natives of that city, after its destruction, settled in the *pargana* of Sákúra, which was peopled in the time of the Jáms of Samma, and there they founded a village to which they also gave the name of Muhammad Túr In this village resided many great men and *zamíndárs*, disciples of the Shaikh of Shaikhs and defender of the world, Makhdúm Shaikh Baháu-d dín (Zakariya) Mullá Khalífa Sindí, so well known in Hind, who sprang from them and that village The cause of the ruin of the above-named city, and of its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows —Below the town of Alor flowed the river of the Panjab, which was indefinitely called by the three names of Hákra, Wáhind, and Dáhan, and by others—for its name changes at every village by which it flows After fertilizing the land, the river pours its waters into the ocean. Dalú Rái governed the country between the two above-mentioned cities (Muhammad Túr and Alor) He was a tyrant and an adulterer every night he possessed himself of a maiden. From the merchants who brought their goods that way in boats from Hind to the port of Déwal,<sup>2</sup> he levied a toll of half their property, traders thus suffered incalculable injury At length, a certain merchant<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> بواسطة كمي آب سد يعني پنجاب كه اورا ار بهكر پائى بهمين مي  
نامند

<sup>2</sup> See Note A in APPENDIX upon Muhammad-Tur

<sup>3</sup> Captain McMurdo places Dalú or Dillú Rái early in the second century of the Hijra.—*Journ R A S*, Vol I p 28

<sup>4</sup> The *Tuhfatul-kirdm* (p 35), calls him Saifu-l-mulúk, and says he was on his way to Mecca, and that when he returned thence, he lived and died somewhere about

reached the place with a vast amount of goods, and was much astonished at this tyrant's proceedings. When the customs' officers perceived the valuable nature of his merchandise, and found him to be a traveller from distant parts, they resolved to exceed their usual demands. The merchant had also with him a handmaiden, young, and beautiful as the full-moon. When the impious tyrant was informed of this, he determined, according to his odious habit, to get her into his possession. The traveller, who was a wise and God-fearing man, said to himself that it was impossible to escape from the tyrant with honour and without distress, and hence it would be better to make some bold effort, in which, by God's help, he might succeed, and which would stand recorded on the page of destiny until the day of judgment. He prayed for and obtained three day's grace to forward the amount of duties along with his beautiful damsel. During this time he collected a number of skilful and expert artizans, men who excelled Farhád in piercing mountains, and could close a breach with a rampart like Alexander's. To these men he gave whatever they desired, and rewarded their labour with gold, jewels, and stuffs. His intention was to erect a strong embankment above the town of Alor, and turn the course of the waters towards Bhakkar. Night after night these strong and able workmen laboured to dig a new channel and erect an embankment. The river was thus turned from its old course and flowed towards Síván and the Lakki Hills, with such force that the merchant was, by God's mercy, quickly carried with his ships and goods far away beyond the oppressor's reach. When the people of the tyrant's country awoke in the morning, instead of several fathoms of water, they found nothing but mud and muddy water. All were amazed, and informed their master of the mode of the merchant's escape, and of the ruin that had come on the country. He ordered them to turn the river into its old channel, but they all replied that it could not be done now the water had flowed else-

Déra Ghází Khán and Sítpur. It is added, that his handmaiden Jamíl or Badí'u-l-Jamál, bore him two sons, Ratta and Chhatta, whose tombs, with that of the father stand near Ratta, which in olden times was a large city in Dalú Rá's, which the vestiges still remain.

place was swallowed up by the earth,—men, buildings and all,—the only sign of them left was a minaret, which stands there to this day. Chhata Anrání and his wife Fátima reached in safety the town of Siwistán, which is now known as Siwán. There he passed his days in prayer and worship. When he left this transitory dwelling-place to seek a wished-for and eternal home beyond the chambers of death, as during his life-time, he had performed miracles, and his prayers had been granted, so was it still after his decease. Whoever approached his shrine obtained the wish of his heart. His tomb is to be found in the city of Siwán, many people flock to it on Fridays, and place full belief in its powers.

### *The Dynasty of Sumra*

Be it known to wise and intelligent men who can solve knotty points, that the history of this ignorant Hindu tribe has been related by old chroniclers as follows —“Every man of them considered himself a chief and leader, but 'Umar Súmra was their ruler. It is not known over how long a period his reign extended, but in all his years this chieftain, unworthy of his sacred name,<sup>1</sup> practiced unworthy acts. He was in the habit of laying violent hands on the females of his subjects. Among other married women he seized a beautiful woman named Máruí, who belonged to the tribe of the Marús,<sup>2</sup> who resided near the forts of 'Umar-kot. She had been betrothed to a person named Phog,<sup>3</sup> but was, by her parents, when her beauty had developed itself, united to another of her relatives. Phog laid a complaint before 'Umar,—“I have given up all hope,” said he, “of obtaining her, but she is well fitted for your own harem. If you could but once see her, you would never wish to part from her again.” This speech of that dweller in the desert induced the chieftain to change his dress, and to mount an active camel,<sup>4</sup> fleet as the wind, on which he repaired to the woman's residence. He was captivated at first sight, and remained there some days. At

<sup>1</sup> عمر Alluding of course to the Khalif 'Umar

<sup>2</sup> Wanderers of the desert.

<sup>3</sup> [The text has سوك “Nababák,” but Sir H. Elliot has substituted “Phog” in the translation. His authority for this change is not cited.]

<sup>4</sup> [The text has باره, but immediately afterwards the animal is called اشتر, so that a camel, not a horse, must be intended by the word.]

length, finding an opportunity, he placed the woman on his own camel, and returned to the seat of his government. But all praise to the virtue and chastity of Márú, for though gold and jewels, robes and apparel were offered her, and though she was made to taste of severity and anger, nothing could induce her to listen to his proposals. "In what creed," said she, "is it considered lawful that we should, for the sake of a little brief authority and worldly riches, which avail us not when all is over, put aside the duty owing to a husband, and thus at last, heap infamy on our heads. The tenderness of her language took effect on the abductor, for a year he detained her and beheld her fidelity. He then sent for her husband and returned her to him, with as much gold and jewels as he could give, and told him of his wife's chastity. Doubt, however, remained in the husband's mind, he kept aloof from her, and constantly addressed reproaches to her. 'Umar was one day informed of this conduct, of the doubts which the husband retained of Márú's chastity, and the disgrace which was thus reflected on himself. An army was ordered to attack and plunder the tribe, but they fled on receipt of the news. When the fact became known, he ('Umar) said "Why does the husband of this chaste woman seek to distress her, and in suspicion of a wrong which has not been committed, why does he injure both her and his ruler, causing a personal and general scandal—instigating all this disturbance?" That paragon of fidelity, comforted the women of her family, and, strong in her own virtue, went to 'Umar and spoke as follows. "You are the lord of this country. If before this you had not conceived such designs, you would not have entailed such disgrace on yourself and on me, but, you have kept a man's wife confined for a twelvemonth in your own house, and after exposing her to suspicion, have sent her away. What wonder is there then that people, who know not right from wrong, should entertain doubts, and what wonder if her husband kill her through jealousy. The redress were worse than the fault itself, should you punish the oppressed family. Consider your own errors, be just, and say at whose door lies the blame." This was said with so much earnestness that it took effect. 'Umar, ashamed of his misdeeds, recalled his army, and caused the husband to be brought to his presence. when he sought by an oath. according to the

custom, to remove all doubt from his mind. But that pattern of excellence anticipated him, and urged that she was the proper person to take the oath, for thus the foul stain would be washed away from herself and from her whole family. So it was settled that a fire should be kindled and an iron heated therein. As soon as the fire burned and flames like lightning issued from the iron, the woman raised it, and came out pure from the trial, and in the eyes of the Hindus all stain on her honour was removed. The thought now entered 'Umar's mind that it was not easy to clear himself of the guilt of the abduction. God is just, injustice pleaseth him not, and never has he, nor will he ever, disgrace any but the guilty. This cruel obstinate husband, thought he, has abased me in the eyes of the world, is it not better that I should pass through the fiery ordeal and truth be brought to the light of day! He did as resolved. Glory to God who maketh truth to triumph! Not a hair of his head or a thread of his garments was singed, and he issued scathless from the raging flames—which consume alike friend and foe. 'Umar and the relatives of the virtuous wife, whom idle talkers had calumniated and reviled, were now raised in public opinion, the doubts, which day and night had tormented the husband, vanished, and his unkind treatment ceased.<sup>1</sup>

*Account of this event as related in the presence of the Emperor Akbar*

When the powerful Nawab Mirzá Khán-i Khánán had made himself master of Tatta, he summoned to his presence the great men of the country, and amongst others selected the most noble of them, Mirza Jání Beg Tarkhán, 'Ariz of the Tarkhanía, to be presented at the court of his majesty, and he proceeded thither with a party of Sindí friends. At an interview the conversation happened to turn upon Márú, which induced the Emperor to enquire of Jání Beg the particulars of this story. The latter replied that he had with him a poet named Mukím, conversant with both Persian and Sindí, who was well acquainted with the whole story, and whom he would send for if permitted to do so. Mirzá Jání Beg himself was per-

<sup>1</sup> This popular legend is given in a different form by Lt. Burton, from the metrical version current in the country — *Sindh*, pp. 107-113

fectly informed of all the circumstances, but he wished to bring the poet to the notice of his majesty. The bard was introduced, but he knew so little of the case, that, contrary to the fact, he said the heroine had a child by that tyrant, misnamed 'Umar.<sup>1</sup> His Highness was much displeased at this misrepresentation, and the bard withdrew crestfallen. Juní Beg then related the story correctly, and some of the auditors repeated verses in the Sindí language in praise of the Márúí. The late Mir Saiyid Ma'súm Bhakkarí, of blessed memory, has recorded in verse the story of Sassai and Pannu and called his work "Husn o Náz," (beauty and coquetry), Mir Abú-l Kásim, (son of Sháh Abú-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kásim Arghún) has likewise versified the story of Chanesar and Lila and called it "Chanesar,"<sup>2</sup> I also have written (these legends) in prose and named my work "Náz o Niyáz" (coquetry and supplication). May men of genius view it favourably!<sup>3</sup>

### *History of Gangá and 'Umar Súmra.*

I write for the information of men of enlightened minds,—friends to literature, and delighting in the sweets of learning. A maiden named Gangá, of the tribe of Tamim, had been betrothed to 'Umar. The latter happened to see her at a time when the spring of youth had not filled the cup of her beauty, and the unopened bud of her cheeks was as yet without fragrance. She did not please him, and his heart was averse to her, so he relinquished all thought of making her his wife, and gave permission that she should be united to any one they chose. 'Umar Tamim, a relative of the girl's, and a companion of 'Umar Súmra, without whom the latter never drank (or eat), became her husband. After a few years, this unopened bud, fanned by the zephyr of youth, became a very stem of blooming roses. She imported such fragrance to the breeze, that fascination penetrated the core of every heart.

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the Khalifa 'Umar, better known to us as Omar. It is to be observed that the author throughout spells the Hindú's name with an *ain* ع. [Amarkot is also generally written 'Umarkot.]

<sup>2</sup> The *Tuhfatu-l Kirdm* (p. 74) says that Mir Táhir is here in error, the real author being Idráfi Rég.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tuhfatu-l Kirdm* (p. 31) says that Muhammad Táhir's *Náz o Niyáz* is in verse and relates to the story of Márdí. Zamíri has written a poem on the same title.



One day, when the washerman had put out her clothes to dry near the road, the chief happened to pass by the scented garments. Such perfume hung in the breeze that for miles it entered the brains of the wayfarers. The scent of the musk caused blood to flow from his nostrils, and he wondered whose garments these could be. He enquired of the washerman, and ascertained, after a good deal of trouble, as the man had been ordered not to mention the owner's name, that they belonged to a certain woman married to 'Umar Tamim, and whom his highness had formerly rejected. Longing and regret now took possession of his soul, and so great was his fascination that he proceeded to the woman's house, intending, if the master should not be within, to delight his eyes and heart with a glimpse of that heart-enthraling creature. The husband was not at home. Deceivers employ many stratagems, so 'Umar found nothing better than to pretend that he had discharged an arrow at some pigeons, and only entered the house to pick one up. The fair lady, who knew nothing of all this, being suddenly disturbed, rose to screen herself from view, and enquired what the intruder sought, but the latter obtained what he had come for and departed. A dart of love from the bow of her eyebrows had pierced his heart and he writhed like a wounded snake. The love which had suddenly been implanted in the innermost recesses of his heart disturbed him so much that he threw himself madly on his couch, abandoned food, drink, and sleep, and spoke to no one. His ministers were much astonished at this conduct, but having learned the cause of it, they respectfully informed him that the difficulty could very easily be overcome, that he should be of good cheer and not grieve. The ministers agreed that it was necessary, by some means, to separate the woman from her husband, and bring her to their master's palace. To further this scheme, it was settled by these godless men that 'Umar should make a show of more than usual cordiality and affection to that young man. The husband was astonished at these unwonted demonstrations, and one day asked his confidential friends what could be the object of them. Being all in the plot, they answered that a wish seemed to have entered the chieftain's mind to give him his sister in marriage, and by this connection, bind him more closely to himself in the bonds of fraternity and love, for he

was highly pleased with his services, and placed great reliance on him. 'Umar Tamīm heedlessly believed this falsehood, he was transported with delight by these tidings, which ought to have saddened him, and he expanded like a rose, so that his robe could scarcely contain him. The simpleton dreamed not that his friends were foully conspiring to deprive him of his wife. One day the friends met. Wine, that source of so much evil, was administered in such quantities to the unhappy husband, who had not strength to bear it, that he quite lost all mastery over himself. The associates perceived that they would never find an opportunity more favourable for the execution of their designs, so in furtherance of their scheme, they spoke to this foolish and helpless being of that impossible marriage. At length, he agreed that he would divorce his present wife, in order to obtain that higher object of his wishes, and he did so. The plotters having so far succeeded, now told him that this divorce alone was not sufficient, that he must offer the woman as tribute to 'Umar. The drunkard hesitated not to give away his cast-off wife. Then, as a finish to the business, he himself was turned out of the assembly, and his wife conveyed to the house of him who had instigated this vile proceeding. On the morrow, when the husband shook off the sleep of intoxication, he thought of his spouse, and remembered the sad events of the past day. Then, uttering cries of grief, he rent his garments, and proceeded to Dehli to lay a complaint before 'Aláu-d dīn Sultān.

The people of this country relate, that when the husband laid his complaint before the Sultān, this guardian of justice sent that very night an order to 'Umar to appear before him, stating that if he came and satisfied the complainant, he might escape punishment, otherwise, an avenging force should be sent to plunder and overrun the country, and his wives and children should fall a prey to the soldiery. 'Umar prepared to depart the moment the messenger arrived. After a journey of some days, he reached the royal presence, and made numerous offerings. When the complainant and defendant were confronted, the Sultān's anger rose to such a pitch that he caused the guilty man to be thrown into a prison to end his days, in order that his fate might be a salutary warning to all wicked doers. For a long time he suffered in prison, but at length

obtained his liberty through the intercession of his friends, on the payment of a heavy fine, and by binding himself to pay an annual tribute. He now returned to Sind, and from that time the rulers of this country have been tributary to the kings of Hind. 'Umar soon forgot his imprisonment and sufferings, and stretched forth the hand of tyranny over the people of Samma, the ancient tenants of the soil. Many families were driven by his exactions to abandon the land of their birth and seek refuge in Kach,<sup>1</sup> which lies between Guzerát and Sind, and this land by God's mercy they have occupied to the present day.

### *The dynasty of Samma*

Old story tellers relate that when God resolved to destroy the people of Súmra (who occupied the city of Muhammad Túr and its vicinity, where ruin had followed the erection of the band of Alor) so utterly that not a sign of them should be left in the land, he decreed that their lives should be passed in the commission of unworthy acts and of crimes. Young and old became intent on violence and mischief. They belonged to the Hindú faith, yet they ate the flesh of buffalos, although eating the flesh of the cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion. The labouring classes and landholders of the Sammas also held the same belief, yet never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo calf. One of these animals was taken openly and forcibly by the Súmras from the house of a Samma at a time when the latter had gone out, and the wine cup passed freely. When the owner returned, his wife taunted him with what had occurred, "To-day," said she, "they have seized a young buffalo to roast, and to-morrow they will take away your women in the same disgraceful way. Either give us, your wives, freely to these men or quit the place." This person was a man of rank and honour, so collecting his friends and relatives, he raised a great cry and sallied forth. A number of the people of Sumra were assembled at the time, he fell on this body and killed several of them, then, packing up all his valuables, he set out for Kach with as many of his relatives as could accompany him.

<sup>1</sup> [The text has "Kanj"]

They had hardly reached the Rann, or desert, which extends from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzerát, when a powerful army of Súmrás overtook them and tried to pacify them, but the fugitives dreaded them too much to have any wish to return. Fighting commenced, and many fell on both sides. The fugitives nevertheless reached the land of Kach, which was occupied by the tribe of Cháwara, and they settled there in the desert with their property. After a time, when they had ascertained who were the chiefs in those parts, they represented to them that they were numerous and had come there for protection, that they craved a portion of land to cultivate, the produce of which would suffice for their wants, and free the community from all expense on their account. A small tract of uncultivated land was given to them by the Cháwaras under the conditions that whatever grain they grew thereon should be theirs, but that all the grass should be sent into the government forts, as the former would suffice for them. The agreement was entered into, and the land was brought into cultivation.

It appears that finally the settlers became masters of the soil by the following stratagem. For some years after their immigration, they went on settling and cultivating the land faithfully, according to treaty, they sending the grass grown on their lands to the forts of the chiefs of this country of desert and hills<sup>1</sup>. When they had got a firm footing and become thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country and the resources of its chiefs, it appeared to them that, if, with one accord, they managed their affairs with discretion, they might succeed in getting the upper hand. They therefore resolved to put into execution some carefully matured stratagem for this purpose. This was the plan that in every cart-load of hay two armed men should be concealed and sent into the fortress. Five hundred loads formed the yearly contribution. This hay was now conveyed in that number of carts, in each were concealed two armed men, and a third sat on the top, so that about fifteen hundred men were all sent off together, and those who remained outside held themselves in readiness and listened for the shouts of the others. At the fort gate was always kept a learned astrologer, whose duty

it was, from time to time, to warn the guards of coming events. As soon as the leading carts reached the entrance, the astrologer discovered that raw meat was concealed in them and proclaimed it with loud cries. The guardians of the gate jumped up and drove their spears into the hay in such a manner that the points entered the breasts of the enterprising youths within. But, oh, the heroism they displayed! As the spears were withdrawn they wiped the bloody points with their clothes, so that not a speck of blood appeared upon them, and all the day that truthful soothsayer was disbelieved, no further search was made, and all the carts entered the fort. When night came on, these resolute men, both within and without the walls prepared for action as had been previously concerted. Sword in hand, those who were inside fell upon the commandant of the fort and slew him. They then beat the drums to announce their triumph. Their friends without, hearing the signal, and knowing all was right, rushed at the gate and smote every one of its defenders who had the bravery to resist them. So great was the carnage, that words cannot describe it<sup>1</sup>

Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the people of the Samma,<sup>2</sup> and their descendants are dominant there to this day. Rái Bhára and Jám Sihta, the Rájás of both Great and Little Kach, are descended from the Samma tribe. Among these people the tika is conferred upon the Rái. When one of the Jáms of Little Kach dies, another is appointed in his place, but the sovereignty and the tika are not bestowed upon him until such times as the Rái of Great Kach dies. When a successor has been appointed he is obeyed by all, and all those who assemble to appoint the Rái present to him horses, honorary dresses, and many other things, according to ancient custom. Whenever a well or a tank is dug in either of the divisions of Kach, the Cháwáras—formerly the masters of the soil, now the ryots—are consulted and brought to approve of the project before it is carried into execution.

<sup>1</sup> The scene of this stratagem was Guntri, in Kachh, of which the remarkable ruins are well worthy of a visit.—See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb 1838, p 102

<sup>2</sup> Respecting the Samma migration to this province, see *Dr Burnes' Hist of Cutch*, Introduction, pp xi, xiv

*Strange customs of the Tribes*

Be it known to men of enlightened minds that these people had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak. As an instance of this, a man named Dúda Súmra attempted to enslave his own brothers, and when any one of them resisted, sought means to kill him. Such was the prevailing stupidity of these people, that whenever they placed themselves in the barber's hands, they had the nails of their hands and feet extracted by the roots, and this violent process caused such distress, that they lost all recollection for a time. A sensible man one day enquired why they inflicted such tortures on themselves. They replied, that there was thus wide difference between them and other people, that they did what others could not.<sup>1</sup> The clothes which they had once worn were never again put on. To wear them a second time would have been held highly improper. A woman who had brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her husband's bed. At length, one of them, a fond and clever wife, becoming pregnant, revolved in her mind that, after the birth of the child, she would lose the society of her husband, and that she must therefore think of some means to convince him that childbirth did not render a female impure, and to banish all such ideas from his mind. This was her plan. whatever clothes her husband took off she gave to the washerman, with orders to wash them most carefully. One day the husband took a bath, and asked for cloths wherewith to dry his limbs. He was supplied with some of those which had been washed and put aside. These appeared to him so unusually soft, that he enquired what kind of fresh cloth it was. His wife told him, and he so much approved of what she had done, that he declared his intention of wearing washed clothes for the future. The wife, on hearing this, exclaimed that such also was the condition of women, why, then, should men cast them off? The husband abandoned both of these foolish practices, and all the tribe followed his example.

<sup>1</sup> The *Tuhfatu-l Kirdm* (p. 36) ascribes to them a more probable answer, viz., that the chiefs alone did it to distinguish them from their inferiors. It is curious that Birdaf ascribes to Indian chiefs the Chinese practice of allowing their nails to grow so that it might be understood they had the means of living without manual labour. *M. Renaud, Memoire sur l' Inde*, p. 238.

All that remain of them at the present day are good Muhamadans and God-fearing men, so much so, that Darwesh Dáúd, Míán Hamúl and Míán Ismáíl Súmra, who were among the chief men of the town of Akham, in the Pargana of Samáwátí, entertained five hundred students of the Kurán, in the college, feeding and clothing them all, for the love of God, at their own expense. The late Mírzá Muhammad Báki Tarkhán, notwithstanding his parsimony and economy,<sup>1</sup> which will be described when I speak of him, gave away, in charity, the produce of his husbandry. His collectors once complained to him, that a certain darwesh, not content with having tilled every bit of land in the district, sought to appropriate all their lord's possessions to his own use. Find therefore, said they, some other employment for the present cultivators. The Mírzá replied "that he should till my lands is but little, were he to drive a plough over my head, I should deem it a favour." Fakírs, widows, and the poor were the recipients of his bounty. A well-provided table was at all hours spread for his guests,—but he himself constantly fasted. When the hour came to break the fast, a barley-loaf, without salt, constituted his only food. A guest coming to him one day, a sumptuous meal was ordered for him, but the guest did not partake of it. "Why," asked the Mírzá, "do you not like the food?" "I wish," replied the stranger, "to eat off the same plate with your majesty." "Oh, what happiness," exclaimed the latter. When evening came, he bid his guest to come and share with him the barley-loaf—that being all his meal. "Oh," said the man, "I thought your own meal would have been better than what you gave your guests, this was the cause of my indiscretion, but pray pardon me, I am satisfied to partake of the former repast." The host replied "Yes, the dainty repast is best suited to your taste, the mere loaf is plenty for mine, for it is no light task to conquer the flesh and abjure the world—the world, that faithless creature, that slays her husband and devours her sons-in-law. No true man will give her a place in his heart. To do so is the act of the mean-spirited. Renounce the faithless harlot in the four extremities of the universe, and cleanse the skirt of your robe from all desire of her."

Religious men love not the world,  
 For they seek not women  
 If you are bound in the chains of a woman,  
 Boast not again of your manliness  
 Have you not read in the ancient book,  
 What befel Husain and Hasan, owing to a woman?  
 A woman, be she good or bad, should be thus treated  
 Press your foot upon her neck

### *Depopulation of the country of the Súmras*

When through the tyranny of Dalu Rái, the river of the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Panjáb came to be made near Siwán, and that town, which is still flourishing, became populated. The want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Súmra, and the tyranny of Dúdá Súmra drove many complaining to the Sultán 'Aluú-d dín, at Delhi. This monarch sent back with them a powerful army, under the command of the royal general named Salar. The men of Súmra prepared themselves to die, and sent off their children in charge of a minstrel, to be placed under the protection of Ibra Ibrání. This Ibra was one of the very Sammas who had fled from the persecutions of the men of Súmra, and had made themselves masters of Kach in the manner which has been related above. It is a custom of these people to hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katriyas, the Chárans, the Dóms and the Márats (?). After the departure of their families, numerous engagements took place between the men of Súmra and the Sultán's army. Sahar Sultání, the Súmra commander, was slain in the field of battle, and the remainder sought safety in flight. The royal army advanced in pursuit of the women and children. From the capital, Muhammad Túr, to Kach they proceeded march by march, digging every night a deep trench round their camp, through fear of their foes<sup>1</sup>. Such was the extent of these trenches, that, to this day, great pools still remain. When they reached the confines of Kach, Ibra Samma, the ruler of the country, fought stoutly in defence of the children and fugitives, but fell at last in the field. The women, whose countenances no stranger had ever beheld, were now surrounded on all sides. These virtuous women saw that the royal army had come to carry them into captivity,

<sup>1</sup> [اریم آں رمیں دار]



and that there was no refuge for them but in God's mercy, then, raising their hands in supplication, they exclaimed "We have no other help, oh God! but in thee Cause this mountain to protect us, poor helpless creatures, and save us from the hands of our cruel enemies." The prayer of these women was heard by Him, the nearest and dearest friend the rock burst asunder, and showed openings, through which they all entered, and before the enemy could reach the spot they were all hidden, but fragments of their garments remained without, showing where they had passed. The pursuers were struck with awe, and retraced their steps That mountain, and traces (of this event) may be seen to this day, in the land of Kachi. In short, as no man was left in Sind, among the Sûmras, of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma people set to work to cultivate new territories on another part of the river

*The Sammas, after the expulsion of the tribe of Sûmra, found the town of Sâmûr-âbad*

After the destruction of the power of the above-named tribe the dynasty of the Samma ruled from the beginning of the year 843 ھ (1439 A.D.) until the date of the total ruin of Sind.<sup>1</sup> The Samma people, who had been subject to the Sumras in the days of their rule, founded a town and fort below the Makali mountain. The former they called Sâmûi,<sup>2</sup> and the latter Taghurâbâd, of which Jâm Taghur had laid the foundation, but had left unfinished.<sup>3</sup> Other towns and villages, still flourishing, were also built by them,—but the spots cultivated during the dominion of the former masters of the soil soon ran to waste for want of water Lands hitherto barren, were now carefully cultivated, there was hardly a span of ground untilled The divisions into *sûbas* and *parganas*, which are maintained to the present day in the province of Tatta, were made by

<sup>1</sup> The text says 849 ھ (1445 A.D.), but it was stated above that the Sumra dynasty closed in 843 ھ And again at p 51 of the original, it is stated that the Samma dynasty lasted 84 years, closing with the establishment of Shâh Husain Arghûn's power in 927 ھ (1521 A.D.), the invasion of his father in 921 ھ, counting for nothing We must, therefore, necessarily assume 843 ھ. to be the correct reading, incorrect as it is in fact

<sup>2</sup> [The name is here written "Sâi"]

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix respecting these places Taghurâbâd is in other works called Taghlikâbâd.

these people. When the labour and skill of each individual had brought the land to this state of prosperity, Jám Nanda bin Báhnayá was acknowledged by all, great and small, as their chief, and received the title of Jám which is the name of honour among these people. Such splendour spread over what had been but dreary solitudes that it seemed as if a new world had sprung into existence. Before his time there was nothing worthy of being recorded, but his reign was remarkable for its justice and an increase of Muhammadanism. I have omitted none of the events which occurred in his reign and in after years as they have been related to me by old residents of those parts. This chieftain passed his days and nights in devotion. He permitted no one man to tyrannise over another, the poor were so happy that all the day long his name was on their lips. Peace and security prevailed to such an extent that never was this prince called upon to ride forth to battle, and never did a foe take the field against him. When, in the morning, he went as was his custom, to his stables to look at his horses, he would caress them kiss their feet and exclaim "Heaven forbid that an invader approach my dominions, or that it ever be my fate to saddle these animals, and engage in war! May God keep every one happy in his place!"

### *The foundation of Tatta*

After he had dwelt some time in the city of Sít, the thought entered his mind to build, at some auspicious moment, a new town, where happiness might remain for ever. Brahmans and astrologers having settled a lucky day, and having sought a spot in the neighbourhood of Samui they selected an eligible place, where now stands the city of Tatta, and there, with the assent of the Jám, the foundation was laid. A division of the land having been made, mansions and houses were constructed. In truth, at such a fortunate moment was the foundation of this place laid, that trouble and affliction have never visited its inhabitants. Contented with what they possess, they carry on their affairs in luxury and ease. The cheerfulness and happiness which reigns among these people has never yet be

them, the first Friday after the new moon, they call in their Sindī language, *Mah-pahra Jum'a*. Such a crowd of men and women flock, on this day, to the Makālī mountain, that there is scarce room to stand. It has become a custom, among many classes, to consider the similar festival of *Māh-pahra Somār*—or the first Monday in each month—a great day for making pilgrimages. The pleasure of visiting each other, induces them to go in large parties, taking with them abundance of sweet river water and food such as they can afford. The day is spent in amusements, and visits to the shrines. The reason why they take water with them is, that the rain-water found in the tanks contiguous to the tombs is brackish, owing to the nitrous nature of the soil, and consequently, though fit for oblations, is not fit to drink. When evening puts a close to these pleasures, they seek their own abode. Besides the shrine of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Patta, there are some ten or twelve other places, where darweshes perform their dance. These excitable men often work themselves into such a state of holy ecstasy, that they cast themselves on the rocks of the mountain of Makālī, but by the blessing of their learned doctors and teachers, no harm befalls them. This custom, however much opposed to the laws of Islam, has been transmitted from generation to generation, and all the attempts of wise teachers and just governors have never succeeded in putting a stop to it. More wonderful still, is the fact that, during the rainy months, only a few showers fall on the mountain. At its summit is a pond, which they call "*Kira tal*," or sweet tank, so long as the water of the heavens fills it, men and women of all classes, Hindūs and Musulmāns, crowd there from morning till night, there they cook their meals, and feast. What 'id, what wedding can ever boast of so numerous an attendance? He alone, who has seen and tasted of these pleasures, can understand this! The custom has long prevailed among these people, and what time has sanctioned they never relinquish. Other nations possess greater wealth, and greater skill, but such light-heartedness and contentment, as to labour for one day and repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Tatta alone.

*Elevation of Daryá Khán by Jám Nanda, who had purchased him  
from Lakzhír*

When Jám Nanda, son of Babiniya had to the gratification of his friends, become the occupant of the throne of Tatta, he embellished the new city and ruled with so much justice and moderation that every citizen found happiness at his own hearth

“That spot is Elysium where oppression comes not  
Where no one interferes with another”

One day he went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakzhír<sup>1</sup> The latter had with him a young slave named Kabúla, to whom was entrusted the care of his master's drinking-water This boy was in reality the son of a Sayid, but having fallen into captivity, he had been purchased by the minister The Jám, becoming thirsty during the chase, called for water His own water-carrier not being on the spot, the minister ordered his boy to fill a cup for the king The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass The Jám put down the cup, and asked him what grass had to do in drinking water The slave replied “I saw your highness was very thirsty, and I feared lest you should drink too large a quantity and suffer from it in riding, I therefore put in the water these small obstacles, that you might drink in moderation” There was nothing so wonderful in this, but the boy's destiny befriended him, and the Jám was much pleased He took Kabúla from the minister and made him one of his personal attendants Day by day his affection for the youth increased, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the kingdom, or even to govern one, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubarak Khán and employed him in all difficult matters He loved him better than his own children and relatives The Jám had many good men around him, such as Wazir Dilshád, who in the year 912 H. (1506 A D) carried his victorious arms from Tatta as far as the city of Uch, yet Mubárak carried off from all of them the ball of good fortune, and was honoured by the king with the management of the affairs of the State in preference to his own son, Jám Firoz He brought the country, from Multán to the borders of Kandahár and

<sup>1</sup> The *Tuhfatul Kirám* (p 40) is doubtful about the real name, saying it is “Lahakdir,” or “Lahgír”

from Kach to Makrán, into such subjection, that if at midnight one of his officers carried an order to any of the *Zamíndárs* and *Bámíyas* of these territories, it was instantly and gratefully obeyed. Such was the terror of his name in these turbulent provinces, that a pregnant woman miscarried if she heard of his approach. So far had spread the fame and dread of his incursions, that the words—"Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming," were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child.<sup>1</sup>

When at length, after a reign of seventy-three years, Jám Nanda passed from this perishable world to the abodes of immortality, he confided the care of the kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jám Fíroz, to Daryá Khán. "The management of the affairs of this kingdom," said the dying ruler, "devolves on thee. Discharge thy duty to Jám Fíroz with zeal and self devotion."<sup>2</sup>

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### *Sack and burning of Thatta<sup>3</sup> by the Fíringís*

In the year 973 H (1565 A.D.) near the end of his life, Mirzá 'Isa Tarkhan, proceeded with his son, Mirza Muhammad Bakí, in the direction of Bhakkar. As they drew near the town of Durbela, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mahmúd Khán, having strengthened his stronghold, sent forth his army to meet them, for, thought he, what breach of contract is this? They bring an army into my territory! What can be their object? It was the intention of Muhammad Báki, to detach the *Parganah* of Durbela, from the province of Bhakkar, and to incorporate it in that of Síwán, but he was frustrated in this design by the army of Mahmúd Khán, which was powerful, and was everywhere prepared for fight. Blood had not yet been spilled, when, suddenly, news came from Thatta, that the Fíringís had passed Láhorí Bandar, and attacked the city. The gates

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix

<sup>2</sup> The author does not distinctly inform us that Daryá Khán was the same person as Mubárak Khán, but the heading of the section implies that he was, and we are explicitly told so in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirdm Mir M'dám* and the *Tuhfatu l Kirdm* say that Daryá Khán was the Jám's adopted son. Firishta calls him a relation of the Jám's, and speaks of Mubárak Khán and Daryá Khán as two individuals.

<sup>3</sup> [The author has hitherto used the Persian form "Tatta"]

were closed, said the despatch, if the army returned without delay, the place would be delivered, otherwise, the enemy was strong, and would effect his object. This intelligence caused the Mirzá to desist from prosecuting the quarrel any further. Leaving the country under the rule of the Khán, he speedily embarked in his boats, and departed. Before he could arrive, the Firingís had sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jáma' Masjid of Mir Farrukh Arghún, which they quitted, on hearing of the Mirzá's approach. The mode of the Firingís coming was as follows.—Between the town of Thatta and Láhorí Bandar is a distance of two days journey—both by land and by water, beyond this, it is another day's march to the sea. There is a small channel, (called *nár* in the language of Thatta), communicating with the port, it is in some places about ten *tanábs* wide, in others, something more. It is unfordable. Between the port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Súi Mianí. Here a guard belonging to the *Mir Bandar*, or port-master, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again, instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the look-out have already enquired into the nature of the ship. Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All concerned in the business, now go in their boats, (*ghrabs*) to the mouth of the creek. If the ship belong to the port it is allowed to move up and anchor under Láhorí Bandar, if it belong to some other port, it can go no further, its cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city. To be brief, when these Firingí traders had got so far, and learned that the king of the country was away on a distant expedition, they felt that no serious obstacle could be made to their advance. The *Mir Bandar* wished to enforce the regulations, but he was plainly told by the foreigners that they had no intention of staying at the Bandar, but that they intended to proceed on to Thatta, in the small boats (*ghrabs*) in which they had come. There they would take some 1 *call*

their goods, buy others, and then return. The ill-provided governor, unable to resist them by force, for their plans had been well laid, was fain to give in, so, passing beyond the Bandar, the Firingis moved in boats, up the river Sind towards Thatta, plundering as they went all the habitations on the banks. The ruler of the country being away, no one had sufficient power to arrest the progress of the invaders. They reached the city unmolested, but here the garrison, left by the Mirzá, defended the place with the greatest gallantry. A spirited contest with artillery took place on the banks of the river. In the end the defenders were overpowered, the enemy penetrated the city, and had made themselves fully masters of it, when the Mirzá arrived in all haste. As soon as they heard of his being near, with a powerful army, they loaded their boats with as much spoil as they could contain, and withdrew.<sup>1</sup>

The Mirzá, who had previously laid the foundation of a citadel for protection against the Arghúns, now deemed it necessary to encircle his palace and the whole city, with fortifications.

His reign ended with his life in the year 984 H. (1576 A.D.) His wealth and kingdom passed into the hands of his son—Muhammad Báki.

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### *Extermination of the principal Inhabitants of Thatta*

Mirzá Muhammad Báki ruled with a strong hand, and ruin fell upon the houses and property of the people. No one dared to oppose his improper proceedings. He did not consider it expedient, that any one with pretensions to eminence, learning, or genius, should be left in undisturbed tranquillity. Nobles and plebeians, men of rank, and men without rank, *Sa'yids*, *Shaihs*, *Kazis* and Judges, were all driven from their time-honoured abodes, and ordered to dwell without the city, as the Mirzá was of opinion that they were disaffected. To the eldest son of Miyan Sa'yid 'Alí, although married to the daughter of Muhammad's brother, Mirzá Sálíh, no more leniency was shown, he experienced the same treatment as the rest. Tyranny became the rule. Of the travellers from all parts who passed through the country, those whom he deemed worthy of notice were

<sup>1</sup> See further in the Appendix on the subject of the Portuguese proceedings

summoned to his presence. So affably were they received, and such the apparent kindness shown to them, that it served as a balm to the weariness of travel. The beguiled stranger was deluded into the belief, that, in the wide world, there could not exist so benevolent a patron to travellers. When the visitors were preparing to depart, the Mirzá would say to his *Mir Bahr*, or superintendent of his Boat Department, that, as the breezes of his kingdom were soft and balmy, and river-excursions tended to cheerfulness, he must place a handsome boat at their disposal. As soon as they had been thus politely enticed into the middle of the stream, a plank was taken out of the bottom of the boat, and the unhappy travellers were drowned. This was done to prevent the chance of anyone talking of this favoured land elsewhere, so that the country, which had required such labour and pains to subdue, should find another conqueror. Any poor traveller, not considered fit to appear in the presence, was simply put to death.<sup>1</sup> Such was the meanness of this prince, that, only once a week on Thursdays, was a meal prepared in the *Díwan-khána*, beyond this, he gave away nothing. If he heard of any person living generously in his own house, it mattered not whether he were a relative or otherwise, a citizen or a soldier, he laid the hand of tyranny on his possessions, nor withdrew it so long as a thing was left to take. Cunning showed itself in every word he spoke. Seated in the audience-tent, hardly a moment passed, but he said to his nobles: "Bring me gold, bring me grain, let this be your sole occupation, for these form the basis of power." The privations which he had formerly endured led him to heap treasure upon treasure, and grain upon grain. Not a corner of the citadel of Thatta but was filled with rice. Often the grain got clotted, and the heat arising therefrom occasioned spontaneous combustion, but the Mirzá would not have it removed from the fort, nor allow it to be given away. At harvest-time he held a revenue audit, and collecting all his dependents, he paid them, according to their dues, by assignments, partly in grain and partly in money. At length, one day his



officers respectfully informed him that the fort was so full of old and new grain, that no room could be found for the produce of the coming harvest. The grain was getting clotted and burnt, so that it was best to assist the people with it, for, by this means, something would be saved at all events. The Mirzá replied, that they should have his answer on the morrow. During the night, he ordered some loaves to be made of clay. When the nobles came in the morning to pay their respects, the Mirzá ordered the cloth to be spread, and, contrary to custom, invited them to eat. They screwed up their courage, and wondered what evil was impending. For any officer of the state who incurred the ruler's displeasure was usually cut into pieces, which were placed in dishes, and carefully sent to his officers' houses, as a warning, to keep up a perpetual dread of his punishment. As the wondering and terrified nobles removed the dish covers, and beheld the strange-looking loaves laid out for the woeful meal, they cast glances from one to another, as if to say, what can this mean? Their host asked why they did not partake of the food before them. "You have all I can give you," said he, "perchance you are wealthy men, and do not like my simple fare." Impelled by fear, some of the ministers took the burnt rice-loaves. The Mirzá angrily enquired why they did not also partake of the other loaves. They replied "Sure, your prosperity and wisdom are great but to eat clay is difficult. In his fierce anger he became abusive, and exclaimed, "Oh! ye simpletons, how long will your wisdom ensure the welfare of my kingdom? Useless grain may at times render good service, for is it not better than clay? It may serve as food for the maintenance of life. Of what good are you, since the mere sight of clay-bread has half killed you! and you give me unsuitable advice! Have you not heard, how, when Humáyún came into this country, and Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún laid waste the whole land, and gave orders for the sowing of grain,<sup>1</sup> what hunger and misery were endured, how raw hides and old skins were cooked in hot water and eaten?"

These are facts —It is indeed related that, at the time of the

<sup>1</sup> [حکم کاشت علی نموده بود]

<sup>2</sup> The author has previously given an account of this famine at page 61 of the original, where he deals with this particular period of Sind history

Emperor's flight and the devastation of the country by the Mirzá, extreme misery drove the men of Sind to eat their own kind. A man, having lost a cow, went with some friends to seek for it. They reached a plain where some youths, who had just come there, had placed a pot on a fire and were cooking meat. The owner of the cow and his friends took these people for thieves, and felt convinced that they were cooking some portion of the lost animal, which they had stolen. So they seized and bound them, asking what meat they were preparing, and whence they had procured it. These youths could not answer for fear, but, when the whip was applied, they found power to say that they were brothers and once had a mother. They had been dreadfully pinched with hunger. The mother, in her love, said that death was preferable to such an existence. She could not bear to see her children perish before her eyes, and besought them to kill her and satisfy the cravings of their hunger. They refrained as long as they could from such a cruel expedient, but at length, unable to contain themselves, they killed their mother, and this was her flesh in the pot. The story was not believed. The villagers said, that before they would credit it, their own eyes must have some proof. The unhappy brothers took their captors to the spot where the entrails had been thrown, this sight caused them to be more firmly bound, for the villagers maintained that some other person must have been sacrificed to their cravings, and that this was not their mother. The wretched lads supplicated and swore in vain, their punishment began, and the blows they received drew forth screams and lamentations. Then suddenly those entrails moved rapidly from the spot where they lay, and curled themselves around the feet of their tormentors. This was a warning. Suspicion at once fled before this miracle. What could it portend? An old man of the party spoke — "These youths told us the truth. How great is the tender love of a mother, since even after death her remains come and cling to your feet pleading for the deliverance of her offspring!"

*The Mirzá sends his daughter, Sindi Begam, to the Emperor*

When the possession of the province of Bhakkar had been secured to the Emperor, by the valour of Mujáhid Ghazi, the relatives of Mahmúd Khán became favourites with him. Mirzá Muhammad Bakí—who had, even before this event, entertained most extravagant fears for his own dominions—resolved to strengthen the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to the monarch. The Mullá, whom I have previously mentioned, related to me, that he was one day secretly sent for by the Mirzá, who addressed him as follows —“I have often thought, and still think, that Hazrat Jalálu-d dín Akbar Sháh is a mighty monarch. The pettiest of his officers—Mujáhid—with only fifty horsemen, has overcome Mahmud Khán Kokaltash, a man who can boast of an iron frame, and of strength equal to that of Isfandyar, who possesses, moreover, a strong fortress, situate between two wide rivers. What if the Emperor should send an army in this direction? desolation would spread over this peaceful land! The province of Bhakkar has been, to this time, a solid barrier against his encroachments, but it is so no longer. It will be wise, ere an army march hither, to send the Bogam, accompanied by some of the chief men of this country, to wait upon the Emperor. Such an union may perhaps preserve us from the grasp of these fierce fire-eating warriors. What think you of this plan?” Being entirely and sincerely devoted to the Mirzá, the Mullá replied, that this vain proposal would certainly be attributed to want of courage and manliness. This speech proving anything but agreeable, the chieftain drew his sword, and advanced angrily towards the speaker, asking, how he dared to use such disrespectful language to him? The Mullá replied, with sincere feeling, that the Mirzá was at liberty to kill him, but that he had spoken advisedly. “Did his lord suppose the Emperor had any thought of him? What if the maiden were so little liked, as to be excluded from the royal harem, and sent back again! What shame, what dishonour would be the result! Would the prince, for the sake of a kingdom, bring disgrace upon his whole family?” At these words, the Mirzá’s anger flashed like lightning, he grew restless as quicksilver, and foaming at the mouth, he exclaimed. Remove this wretch from before my eyes, lest I shed his blood this very day.” As the Mullá withdrew from his presence, he unburdened his mind

of what still remained there. "To represent the true state of a case was," he said, "the duty of a loyal servant. He had incurred his master's anger by so doing, but, even in this he felt himself happy and honoured. What imported it to him, if the Emperor sent back the princess? What recked he, if he gave her away to one of his favourites, better men than the Mirza himself? You, he exclaimed, are a prince. You know no law but your own will. Do that which shall be most pleasing to you." This advice, bitter withal, was heard, but not heeded. The opinion of other friends, and his own prevailed. That light of the eyes was sent to the Imperial court, escorted by Sayid Jalâl, son of 'Alî Shurîzî, and son-in-law of Mirzî Salih, Muhammad Bîkî's own brother, and by Khwajâ Mîr Beg Diwan, provided with rich presents, and a suitable dowry. Having reached the Emperor's presence, the messengers kissed his feet, and displayed to view what they had brought. The valuables were then made over to the treasurer, but that most precious gem of all, that paragon of virtue, was introduced into the seraglio. There, the powerful monarch, prince of all things, cast but once a momentary glance on the countenance of this fair and nobly-born maiden, after which he would not see her again. He said to himself, that the daughter of Muhammad Bîkî was not of a good disposition, and that he would send her to some other person's harem. Somo Arghûns, of the same descent as the Begam, and who had sought to escape from death at the emperor's court, endeavoured, notwithstanding her father and brothers' enmity, to avert an event which would, they thought, lower the dignity of their family. In defence of the honour and good name of their kinswoman, they represented to the Emperor, that never, to that day, had any member of their house experienced such unkind treatment from former rulers. Let the monarch of the world honour them with his universal benevolence, and send back the maiden to that wretch athirst for the blood of his brethren—who, if the monarch acceded to their wishes, would be under an obligation to them. The order of the Emperor, irresistible as the decree of fate, went forth, that Sindî Begam should be sent back to her father at Thatta.

<sup>1</sup> [The negative is wanting in Sir H. Elliot's MS دختر خوب خوي است]

*How Sindî Begam returned from the Emperor's court to her  
Father's*

At the time the Emperor was taking leave of the Begam, he ordered an elephant for her use, and bid her return to her father, whose ancestors, from father to son, had been vassals of the crown. He also added, that a small tract of land had been assigned to the princess, who, he hoped, would, at the appointed hour of prayer, pray for his welfare and the increase of his prosperity. The party left. A despatch had already been forwarded to the Mirzá, in which all these events had been detailed. He might, it was said, consider them as arrived. They had been placed in most critical circumstances, but providence had vouchsafed to preserve his name from disgrace. The Mullá relates that he was sent for by the Mirzá, who threw him the document itself, saying "Read this sad news, what you foretold has come true." He perused the despatch of the nobles escorting the Begam, and found it was even so. He said, "Peace be with you, oh mighty lord! bow down your head humbly before the One incomparable Being, render thanks unto God, who has vouchsafed to maintain your honour, and be grateful to your blood-thirsty brethren, the Arghúns, as long as you live. Be kind to those of them still left here, and thus dispel the old enmity subsisting between you." The Mirzá, rendered wise and devout at length, was pleased with this speech, and said a few words which he deemed appropriate in thanksgiving. He also sent epistles to the Arghúns, wherever they could be heard of, calling upon them to lose no time in returning, and promising that compensation for their former sufferings should be afforded them to the utmost of their wishes. Some of them were slow to return, being doubtful of the chief's intentions, others, in whose hearts still lived the recollections of their fatherland, were content to brave even death. The excessive kindness they experienced proved a balm to the wounds of past persecutions, and surpassed their expectations.

About this time the *Jágrdárs* of the province of Bhakkar, owing to the Emperor's approach, resolved to send their army into the province of Síwán. This territory often suffered from their depredations, but they now sought to take it from the Mirzá. Fát'h Khan, a slave, ruled that province, but he had made a Hindú called

Junar his agent, and to any person wishing to address him on affairs of the state, he stupidly said "I know nothing of this go to Junar." His son Abu-l Fat'h led a most dissipated life. He clothed his companions in female apparel, with bracelets on their arms, and kept them hidden in his own abode. He would not eat of food on which a fly had lighted. His associates were usually made to bring many kinds of dishes, and by this means, he plundered them. From the 13th to the 16th of every month his friends were called together, and the time was spent in debauchery. Whole nights passed in the enjoyment of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine, he gave presents to his guests and attendants. But of all his absurdities this was the greatest. If a flight of birds happened to be pointed out to him, he commenced counting them, throwing in the air either a *lari*<sup>1</sup> or a Firringi gold coin as each passed by. In short, as this miserable state of things prevailed, the Mirzá resolved, in order to put a stop to it, to remain himself at the head of affairs in the capital, and send away his children to the frontier and the provinces.

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*Arrival of Nawáb Mirza Khán, in Siwán, and his wonder at the Lakkí mountain*

When the illustrious Khán, leaving Bhakkar behind him, arrived in Siwán, his first thought was to invest and capture the fort before proceeding any further, but, after-consideration showed him that no substantial benefit could accrue from the possession of a few mud walls, until both the capital Thatta and the ruler of the country were in his hands. The root is the support, not the branches. The Nawáb thought it best to leave a detachment behind and move onwards in person with the remainder. This plan was carried into execution. Leaving under his officers some ships which he considered equal to the destruction of the fort, the Khán marched against Mirza Janí Beg.

When he drew near the Lakkí mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country, what a sight opened upon him. From the river Sind, stretching away towards the setting sun, rose the above-

<sup>1</sup> A silver coin

named mountain, its summits high as the star Aiyúk, and along the face of it ran a path narrower than a hair. Those who pass over climb like a string of ants. If ten resolute men defended this passage, not the world combined could dislodge them, without suffering severely from the stones they could throw down. Adjoining these mountains are many others, on which dwell the tribes of the Bulúch and Nahmrúí, of the Jokiya and Jat, extending as far as Kích (Kíz?) and Makrán. To the eastward of the river are the Mawás and the Samíja tribes, spread as far as the sand-hills of Amarkot, and these are men who have never acknowledged a master. For an army to pass in either of these directions is impracticable. The Nawwáb made enquiries about the country and was greatly troubled with what he heard, for if an ambuscade were laid in the valley it would be exceedingly difficult for him to proceed, this being the key of the whole country. Just as orders had been issued for this post to be fortified (as by this means, and by well-laid plans, a secure advance might be made) it was discovered that the enemy had taken no measures to defend the pass. The Khán was delighted, and exclaimed that the star of the monarch of the world had indeed outshone that of these people, since they neglected to make a stand in so formidable a position, of a certainty now the country had passed away from their hands. When this saying reached the ears of the Mirzá (Jání Beg), keen indeed was his regret for the neglect he and his counsellors had been guilty of. "Truly," said he, "have we committed a great fault of generalship. In short, the Khan advanced without meeting with any obstacle, and, in presence of the Mirza, threw up an intrenchment and constructed batteries. Morning and evening, valiant, lion-hearted youths, worthy descendants of Mars, came forth from both sides. With such activity did destiny send forth death to do its work in the field, that no symptom of backwardness appeared there, energy filled every breast, as the warriors strove their utmost. The happy star of the Emperor, and his own genius, inspired the Nawwáb to send detachments against various places in the same way that he had encompassed Mirzá Janí Beg and the fort of Síwán. Sháh Beg Khan was selected to act against the fort of Sháhgar, in the province of Nasrpúr, where resided Abu-l Kásim. Another party of veterans was told off to

march into the Jágir country, against the fort of Nírankot. In this war, for every province of the country a force was appointed, although it was not despatched

Mirzá Jání Beg Sultán made this agroement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 *gabars*, every one of them worth twelve *mirí's*, called in the Mirzá's time, *postanís*, of which seventy-two went to one *tanka*. The poor people of Sindh, already prepared to give their lives for their lord, were pleased with this show of kindness, and went out daily to bring in heads or lose their own. This style of warfare continued for several months. Gariya, the Hindú, who well knew how matters stood, and the state of the treasury, and had a regard to future exigencies, gradually reduced the reward from 500 to fifty *gabars*. Even for this small sum, the starving people were content to throw themselves without hesitation against the scimitars of the foe. The greater number fell in these contests, and the treasury became empty, so that day by day, the state of the people and of the country grew worse. Mirzá Janí Beg found his only safety in protracting the struggle, and sent forth his young men on all sides to distract the enemy. Hearing that treasure was on its way by land to the Nawwáb Khán's camp, he sent Abu-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kasim Arghún, with a body of spirited youths, Moghals and Sindis, to attack it. This chieftain, when he drew near the convoy, about the middle of the night, hid himself with his men, and sent a small party to fall upon the enemy's rear with a great clamour. The enemy all turned against these men, but Abú-l Kásim, with the remainder, entered their camp, carried off the treasure, and slew the foremost of the foe. Sultán Khusrú Charkas likewise attacked them with his boats, according to a previously concocted scheme, by which a body of picked men was to remain on board, whilst another advanced by land. The Nawwáb also had made suitable dispositions. The Mirza's chieftains, who were anxious for Khusrú's defeat, sent the armed force in the boats, but kept back the party which had been selected for the land attack. The hostile fleets drew up in the opposite lines, and a discharge of cannons and muskets, shells, and rockets, wheels, and every kind of fire missiles commenced on both sides. The scattering flames and



sparks shone on the water like a fiery mountain, and such clouds of smoke ascended, that the vaulted heavens became as it were the roof of a furnace. The sun sheltered itself in the smoke from the fierceness of the heat, and was eclipsed. Sight could not pierce the thick clouds, and breath failed from the density of the atmosphere. At length the boats ran foul of each other. The rings and grapnels, which were made in order to drag away the enemy's boats, now began to be used. So violent a struggle ensued, that the waves were crimsoned with the blood of those whom the guns had destroyed. By the help of their friends on shore the Khán's party triumphed, and their adversaries fled. Khusrú Charkas was taken in his boat along with several other vessels, when, at that moment, Charkas Daftír, the chief of the merchants of Fírang, who repaired yearly to Thatta from Hurmúz, came fluttering like a moth around this furnace, and running his boat into the midst of the fray, succeeded in rescuing Khusrú from his captors, but the attempt cost both of them their lives. When both sides were satiated with blood they withdrew to their tents, and applied balm to their wounds. It was at length resolved to abandon stratagem and fight in the open plain, where victory would fall to the brave<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Tārīkh-i Sind* (p. 294), and the *Tārīkh-i Hind* (p. 112), concur in representing that there were Portuguese mercenaries in this action, which closed the independence of Sind in A.D. 1591. They attribute the escape of Khusrú Khán to the fact of a powder magazine exploding in the royal fleet.

## VI

## BEG-LAR-NAMA

This work derives its name from the person to whom it was dedicated, and by whose advice it was undertaken Sháh Kásim Khán, son of Amír Saýyd Kásim Beg-Lar We learn nothing of the author—not even his name—either from the preface or the body of the history. We can only tell, from the tone in which he speaks of his patron, that he must have been a most abject dependant

The name of Beg-Lár, we are told, belonged to his patron's family by hereditary descent, and is not therefore to be confounded with the Beglerbegs of Turkey and Persia, who are the viceroys or governors of the Provinces<sup>1</sup> The Beg-Lár family after residing for some generations at Turmuz, came to reside at Samarkand, whence we had them emigrating to Sindh They pretend to derive their origin from 'Alí, the son-in-law and cousin-german of the Prophet The genealogy is given in the *Beg-Lár-náma* and *Tuhfatu-l Kírám* Their intimate connection with the Arghúns is attributed to one of their remote ancestors having taken up his abode in Khitá, where he and his descendants continued in friendly communication with the Turks This connection, indeed, frequently gives rise to the

<sup>1</sup> This title is not, as is generally supposed, used in Turkey alone. Ever since the time of the Ilkhánians, it has been adopted in Persia also Cornelius le Bruyn's *Franklin's Tour to Persia*, pp 336. 350. Sir H. Rawlinson's

Beg-Lár family's being called Arghun, as at pp 263, 287, in the extract from the *Taukh-i Tuhiri*, where the patron of our author is styled an Arghún

Amír Sháh Kásim came from Samarkand to Sind in the time of Sháh Husain Arghún, and was received with distinction. He married the niece of the Wairi Ráná of 'Umarkot, and as her father was a Bhattí Rájput, Sháh Kásim, the produce of this marriage, was half a Bhattí, and amongst that tribe he was brought up. It is to him, under the title of Khan-i Zamán, that this book is chiefly devoted, and as he acted an important part in the affairs of the kingdom, we are treated with tedious reports of the most trifling exploits performed by him and his sons, consisting chiefly of provincial contests, border feuds and cattle raids. This minute history, however, compels the author to mention the names of streams, forts, villages and tribes, which in themselves sometimes possess considerable interest. Even the local hostilities and intermarriages of clans afford matter of speculation to the curious enquirer, and on all these points some information is to be gleaned from the *Beg-Lár-nama* <sup>1</sup>

As the little that there is of general interest centres in the connection which Khán-i Zamán had with public characters, it may as well be mentioned that he first rose to some distinction under Sháh Husain, the Arghún ruler of Sind. He then served successively Mirzá Isá Tarkhún, Ján Bábbá, Mirzá Muhammad Báki, and Mirzá Jání Beg. When this chief went to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar, Khán-i Zamán accompanied him, and was received with favour. He was afterwards nominated to an appointment in Sind under Mirzá Gházi Beg, and lived to an old age in that country, surrounded by a large and thriving family. His son, Mir Abú-l Kásim Sultán, was celebrated for his gallant conduct in the field, as well as for his literary talents. After rebelling against the constituted authorities, he was par-

<sup>1</sup> Tod says, that the practice of intermarriage has set the example of these intermarriages, but the following extracts will show the practice to have been prevalent nearly three centuries ago. *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol II p 317

rough the intercession of his father, but was sub-  
 blinded to prevent his exerting further disturbances  
 act date of the composition of this work cannot be fixed  
 within twenty years—1017 and 1036 H —because  
 we have on that point no altogether contradictory  
 evidence. We are told (p 256) that the author's  
 words "at this period, (*alḥūn*)" that is 1017 "reached the  
 century." About this there can be no doubt, because we  
 have already been informed (p 36) that he was born in 947—  
 the date is given not only in numerals but in text. But  
 we are informed (p 27) of Mirzá Ghází Beg's death, which  
 occurred in 1021, about which, also, there can be no doubt, as it  
 is attested by a chronogram in the *Tuhfatul Kirám* (p 72)  
 in enumerating the children of his patron, (pp 260, 261)  
 the dates of 1032 and 1033, both in text and numerals.  
 It cannot have been composed at any period more than three  
 years beyond this, because Jahángír is mentioned as the reigning

Taking all those points into consideration, we may  
 conclude either that the rough draft was written in 1017, and  
 the final revision was made about 1035, when the subsequent dates  
 of composition, or that *alḥūn*, as at p 41, is used with reference  
 to the present which the author is describing, not with reference to  
 the date at which he is writing—in short, in the sense of "at  
 the present," not "at this present." If so, the date of 1017 relates  
 to the time when Khán-i Zamán had completely peopled and  
 the country round the fort of Sayyid-garh, of which he  
 completed the building in 1011, and we can fix with tolerable  
 accuracy upon the year 1034, or 1035—say 1625 A D—as that  
 at which the *Beg-Lar-náma* was brought to a conclusion, but I  
 entertain great confidence in this interpretation, and it must be  
 clear that the matter is not worth further enquiry.

The *Beg-Lar-náma*, after the preface, opens with a general  
 history of Sind and the Arab invasion, in twenty-two  
 chapters. We then have a very slight notice of the Arghúns, with a  
 notice of Amír Kásim Beg, extending altogether to eighteen



was therefore solicited to march against them, that ample revenge might be taken. The Mír complied with his request, and he accordingly marched with the people of the Sodha tribe<sup>1</sup> in that direction. When the warlike and fierce Ráthors were informed of the coming of the ever-successful army, they armed themselves and advanced boldly to the field of battle. Both armies stood in powerful array against each other. The Rání intimated to the Mír that it was an old established custom amongst their tribes that both parties should alight from their horses and engage on foot.<sup>2</sup> The most noble Amír agreed to this and issued orders to his army, which consisted of Sodhas, that they should dismount while they opposed the enemy. The Amír took his bow from the easel and began to shoot his arrows. Every arrow told, piercing through the armour and bodies of the enemy, and each time sending a soul to the world of annihilation. Twenty of the enemy having been slain, the remnant took to flight, confessing the Mír's bravery, and lauding him with a hundred thousand tongues. When the Sodhas witnessed such bravery and intrepidity, they resolved to honour themselves by seeking a matrimonial alliance with the Mír. The great and noble Mír, according to the will of God, accepted their prayers, and Ráña the daughter of Rání Kúmba Wairaf's sister, a most modest chaste girl, whose father was the Bhattí chief of the fort of Jesalmír, was betrothed to him.<sup>3</sup>



### *Deputation of Khán-i Zamán on a mission to Rai Dhar Raj of Jesalmír*

Khán-i Zamán, with the aid of the Almighty, proceeded, with his friends and suite, after taking leave of Mirzá Ján Bábbá, towards Jesalmír. When he arrived, he halted outside the fort on the margin of the tank,<sup>4</sup> and despatched a messenger to Rái Dhar Ráj

<sup>1</sup> [See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. 93, and II. 210, 319.]

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix

<sup>3</sup> The text says simply عا جرد رعا, but at page 41, we are told that she was his sister's son, and this is confirmed by the *Tuhfatul Kurdm*.

<sup>4</sup> The spacious tank of Jesalmír lies to the south-east, and the magnificent fort crowns a rocky hill on the south-western angle of the town.

to say that Mirzá Ján Bábá had sent a robe of honour for him. The Rái with much politeness, requested him to stay where he was encamped, and intimated that he would come to him on an auspicious day and hour to be invested with the robe. In those days the periodical rains, by the will of God, had not fallen, and the land all round was parched up. A single vessel of water was to be had only at a very heavy price, for there was no water in the lake. But, when the prosperous feet of this nobleman touched that ground, suddenly, by the will of God, rain fell. the dry land became saturated and green herbs sprung up in every place. In the morning, the Rái came to visit him and had the honour of meeting him. He said that the rain had fallen only on account of his prosperous presence. He accompanied the Khán with great honour and respect into the fort, and then performed the rites of hospitality. Each day he showed him greater honour. The great Khán stayed there for the period of five months, after which he took leave and turned his reins towards Nasrpúr. Having reached the banks of the tank of Sánkra, he learnt that Jaish Khán and 'Alán-d dín, having pursued their course along the eastern bank of the river, were proceeding towards Thatta to meet Ján Bábá. When they had reached the stream of the Rain, they were informed that Mirzá Ján Bábá, accompanied by Sayyid 'Alí Shírází, had gone to Mirzá Muhammad Báki, and according to the will of God had been slain. On hearing this, they returned and reached Nasrpúr plundering the country on their road. Khán-i Zamán also went thither and met them. The exigencies of the time were such that he owed money, and as none of these people showed him any humanity and favour he was much distressed in mind. He said he had placed all his reliance on Mirzá Ján Bábá, on whom the decree of God had now passed. He observed to his companions, "At present it is urgently necessary for me to pay some money in liquidation of my debt, what is your advice?" They replied—"These people possess much wealth and are proud of their riches. Now we are at your service and ready to accompany you wherever you desire." On this, he proceeded towards the Sodhas, at the village of Tarangchi.

*The Plunder of Tarangchí*

Khán-1 Zamán, by the advice of his companions, set out and crossed the waters of Sankra. When Duda and Ghází learnt that he had gone in that direction with only a few men, they rode after him. As soon as 'Aláu-d dīn and Míán were informed that their sons Ghází and Duda had gone to join Khán-1 Zamán, they also marched in the same direction with the intention of bringing them back. They reached the banks of the Sankra at the time that Khán-1 Zamán had crossed it, while Duda and Ghází were only then preparing to pass the stream. When they saw that their fathers had come to take them back, they immediately threw themselves into the stream, swam their horses over, and joined Khán-1 Zamán. They would not return, for they reflected that, if at this time they did not accompany him, the reward of their past services would be forfeited. In the afternoon, Khán-1 Zamán, having watered his horses, left the village of Ráhu Madh, and that renowned lion, with only twelve horsemen, travelled through a large jungle the whole night. On arriving near the village of Tarangchí, he found the camels of the Sodhas there, and determined to carry them off without delay, but it occurred to him that he had better first let his horses quench their thirst. With this intent he proceeded towards the village, and there found the tracks of five hundred horses that had just passed over the ground. He was alarmed, and thought how impossible it was to save himself with so few men against such a host. He, however, advanced and asked the driver of the camels what army had passed by that road. The man replied that Mirzá Muhammad Báki and Mirzá Ján Bába had quarrelled with each other, and that the former had asked the Sodhas to reinforce him. Hence a force of about five hundred men of the Waisa tribe had passed that way. The Khan's companions were much alarmed at this intelligence, and brought back their horses without watering them, but they bravely and gallantly carried off the camels, many of these animals died on account of the severe marches they had to make. The next day, in the afternoon, the dauntless heroes reached the village of Ráhu Madh,<sup>1</sup> where they stayed only sufficient time

<sup>1</sup> [The name is here written "har"]



to drink water. At nightfall they halted at the village of Pariyári. Early next morning they pursued their journey, and reached the village of Sítára, which belonged to the Anrán tribe. There they rested themselves without fear or danger. They divided the camels amongst themselves. One was given to Jaish Khan, another to Birlás, another to 'Aláu-d dín, and another to Míán Sodha.

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### *Proceedings of Khán-i Zamán*

Khán-i Zamán had his head-quarters at Nasrpúr, and comforted the people under his rule by his kindness and justice.

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As ties of relationship existed between him and the Bhattís, he sent Arab horses laden with all kinds of valuable articles to the Ranas of the Sodha, Rára, and Bhattí tribes, the Ráwats and the Ráthors, and the Ráis and Jáms of the Jháregas, insomuch that the chiefs of 'Umarkot, Jesalnúr, Bikanúr, Nirohí, Mahwa (Míwár?), Kótara, Báhalmír, Nílma, Bárkar, Kach, Náktí, Rámdinpúr, Chaudúwár, and the like, were gained by his bounty. No demand of service was made from them. These chiefs engraved the words of friendship and fidelity on their hearts, and considering themselves greatly honoured, were ready to exclaim — "We are under great obligations to the Sháh! We can think of nothing else but of serving him. For we are favoured by his generosity, and will never turn our faces against his commands." Being grateful they were always ready to obey his orders. If any service was required of them, they performed it with the greatest fidelity and submission, and whenever they were summoned they came willingly. As the Bháts and Chárans were dependents of these chiefs he used to reward these family bards whenever they came to him, with a lakh (of rupees?) or more. As Hewanda was the bard of the Bhattís, he presented him with a donation of one crore and a quarter, or one hundred and twenty-five lakhs (?), besides horses, camels, etc., which he likewise generously granted. In short, by the wise conduct of this great and enlightened noble, all men, great and small, bad and good, were as obedient to him as

slaves The renown of the excellent qualities of this second Hátim or Ma'n, was not only on the tongues of all the nobles and plebeians of his own land, but also spread over every part of the world

### *The Sacking of 'Umarkot.*

The appointment of the governorship of 'Umarkot depended upon the will of the kings of Sind, who removed the incumbent whenever they thought proper About the time when Khán-i Khánán came to Sind, the governorship of that fort was held by Ráná Megráj Khán-i Khánán expressed a desire to be connected by marriage with the Rána, who having no daughter fit to be given in marriage to him, he was obliged to offer the hand of his brother Mán Sing's daughter After the death of Ráná Megráj, Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg conferred the governorship of 'Umarkot on his son Kishan Dás Animosity sprang up between this chief and Man Sing, and he, having turned out Mán Sing from the fort, assumed the surname himself Mán Sing, being related to Khán-i Khánán, sent his son to represent the matter to him In those days Khan-i Khánán and Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg were both in attendance on the Emperor Akbar at Burhánpur Khan-i Khánán therefore recommended Mán Sing to the favour of Mirza Jání Beg, who wrote to Mirzá Abu-l Kásim Sultán directing him to place Man Sing in the governorship of the fort of 'Umarkot, and make Kishan Das understand that he was not to oppose and thwart him, but that the same rule with regard to their respective positions should be observed now, as had been established from of old in the family. Mir Abu-l Kásim Sultán, in obedience to this mandate, proceeded from the fort of Sháhgarh towards 'Umarkot. Having reached the village of Samara he alighted there, Mán Sing being also with him. Para Kishan Dás being informed of this, collected his forces, and having encamped opposite the same village, drew up his army in hostile array. The Ráná Kishan Dás was in many ways related to the noble Khán-i Zamán, one of his sisters being married to Mir Abú-l Kásim, another to Sháh Mukim Sultán, and he

the Khán. Some friendly people who were with the Amír were anxious that no fighting should take place between the parties. When they expressed their intention to the Ráná, he said he considered himself a servant of Mír Abú-l Kásim, and would not rebel against him. Still Mán Sing must not be allowed any interference, because he was the originator of these quarrels and disturbances. Mír Abú-l Kásim, however, adhered to the orders he had received to place Mán Sing in the governorship. At length, upon the instigation of his well-meaning friends, the Ráná resolved to go to Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán. So when he arrived, he alighted from his horse, and having changed his vanity and pride for humility and supplication, he advanced on foot for a long distance with his whole army, officers, dependants, and servants. He kissed the feet of the Sultán, and presented him the horse on which he had himself ridden. The Sultán mounted and gave him his hand. He then pitched his tent near the pool of Sámara and passed the night there. The Ráná also encamped on the margin of the pool. At daybreak, some of the people of the Mír's camp, who belonged to the Sameja tribe, went into the fields of the Sodhas and began to injure them. As hostilities had previously existed between these tribes, the Sodhas abused the Samejas, and a quarrel ensued. Intelligence being brought to Mír Abú-l Kásim, he immediately hastened off, and Ráná Kishan Dás also set his army in array, and advanced with intent to fight, but his heart failing him, he took to flight, and proceeded towards Kaurhár. Mír Abú-l Kásim with his followers and companions, hastened to 'Umarkot. When he approached the fort, a son of the Ráná Kishan Das who was in it, not being able to oppose him, took some money with him and fled. Upon this, the Mír entered the fort and the whole family of the Rana were captured. But as they were related to him, they, together with his treasures,<sup>2</sup> were of course protected. All other things, however, were taken possession of by the army. Temples were demolished, cows were directed to be butchered, and the houses of the vile infidels were made to resound with the sound of trumpets and horns, and their filthy idols were polluted. In the idolatrous places of worship Muhammadan tenets were pro-

<sup>1</sup> [The text says در میان کولاب "in the middle of the pool."]

<sup>2</sup> ["*Rahzad*" = *rad-i rah*, "provisions for the way"]

mulgated and prayers were read for one entire week. He remained in the fort passing his time in festivity and pleasure. As the killing of cows and the breaking of idols is considered by the Sodhas to be the highest possible insult, the Rání felt highly indignant, and having returned from the village of Kaurhár, he summoned the Sodhas from all sides and quarters to meet him at Gaddí. There they crowded ready to advance on 'Umarkot. They had been subjected to great ignominy, and so they were all ready to sacrifice their lives in revenge. When this news reached Khán-i Zaman, he, reflecting that both parties were enrolled in his army, was most anxious that no contest should take place between them, and consequently hurried away with the intention of effecting a reconciliation between them. He set out in the evening from Nasrúpúr, and having travelled the whole night arrived early the next morning at the village of Gaddí, where the Rání and the Sodhas had encamped. He sent his son Mir Shah Mukím Sultán, Mir Fathí Beg Sultán, and Kána Bhattí, brother of Rím Bhattí, to the Rana, in order to appease and comfort him. They accordingly went to him, and so far appeased him that he was induced to accompany them, and had the honour of kissing the Khan's feet. The Khán exalted him by the grant of a horse and robe of honour, and spoke words of sympathy and consolation.     o     o     o     o     In the end, some of the plundered property was restored, but the Rání obtained only poor satisfaction.

## VII.

## T A R K H A N - N Á M A .

OR

## ARGHÚN-NÁMA,

THESE two are different names of the same work, of which the author is Saiyid Jamál, son of Mír Jalálu-d dín Husainí Shírází, who composed his work in the year H 1065 (1654-5 A.D.), as we learn from a casual notice in the genealogical tree, to be hereafter mentioned. The work is named after the Moghal families of Arghún and Tarkhán respectively, whose origin will be further noticed in the Appendix. The *Arghún-náma* is mentioned in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* as if it were a separate work, but there is nothing on the Arghúns in the latter history which is not derived from sources at present extant and available. I could find no trace of such a history in Sind, and I was told by several people in that province, that the work under consideration was the only one known as the *Arghún-náma*. As it treats with sufficient copiousness upon the Arghún history, as will be seen in the translated extract, there is no impropriety in giving it this assumed name, but it is obvious that the author himself styled it *Tarkhan-namá* only, in compliment to his patron Mirzá Muhammad Sálh, who was of the Tarkhán family.

There appears to have been at one time a history of that family of older date than this, because Saiyid Jamál informs us, that the Mirzá, being most anxious to acquaint himself with the genealogy and history of the Moghal tribes, and especially of his own ancestors, in order that he might learn precisely from what particular chief he was descended, commissioned our author to send him the book called *Tarkhán-náma*. This zealous indi-

vidual, not being able, notwithstanding all his enquiries, to find any book of this name, determined to compose one himself to supply the deficiency, and for this purpose examined and extracted from *Taharí*, the *Rauzat-u-s Safá*, the *Zafar-náma*, the *Tarikh-i Humayúní*, the *Albar-náma*, the *Nigárístan*, the *Tarikh-i Táhirí*, the *Muntakhab-i be-badal Yúsufí*, the *Tarikh-i Guzida*, the *Mayma'u-l Ansáb*, and others. And so having traced the progenitorship of the Tarkhans up to the Patriarch Noah, he completed what he styles his *Tarkhán-nama*.

In this enumeration of authorities we have another flagrant instance of that offensive suppression of the truth which so often excites our indignation in the Indian historians. The work to which Saiyid Jamál is most indebted is Mír M'asúm's *Tarikh-i Sind*, from which he has extracted and abridged, but with many omissions,<sup>1</sup> the whole history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans, from the rise of Sháh Beg, to the close of the independence of Sind under Jání Beg, and to which he is indebted even for the selection of whole sentences, as well as the frame of the narrative, and yet Mír M'asúm's name is nowhere mentioned, except where his grandfather Saiyid Mír Kalán (p. 96) is incidentally brought upon the stage. From some of the works quoted he has of course borrowed his Turkish genealogy, but even there his obligations seem to have been confined to the *Rauzat-u-s Safá*, the *Zafar-nama*, and the *Mayma'u-l Ansab*, which three works would have been sufficient to afford him all the information with which we are favoured on that subject. The *Tarikh-i Táhirí*, which is the only local history which he quotes, is, with strange inconsistency, not followed either for facts or dates.

Mírzá Muhammad Sálhí, who is represented to have been endowed with every excellence, personal and intellectual, was the son of Mírzá 'Isá Tarkhán grandson of the more celebrated

Sind Mirzá 'Isá, the younger, was introduced to Akbar in 1012 H, and was treated by him and his successor, Jahángír, with distinguished consideration. As his independence of all favour and patronage, except that bestowed by the Emperor himself, rendered him obnoxious to the nobles about the Court, they managed that he should receive only those jágírs in which the turbulence of the inhabitants made the collection of revenue difficult,<sup>1</sup> but his bravery and good conduct defeated all these machinations, and he triumphed over the jealous opposition of his enemies.

By an early acknowledgement of Sháh Jahán as Emperor, and his proclamation of him in the 'Idgáh of Ahmadábád, in which he anticipated the other more tardy nobles of Guzerát, where his jágír was then situated, he met with a distinguished reception from the new monarch, to whom he went to pay his respects on the banks of the Mahí. He was shortly afterwards preferred to the Súbadári of Thatta, where he was directed to seize the person of Sharíru-l Mulk at all hazards. Having succeeded in sending this gallant but obnoxious individual a prisoner to the Imperial Court, he received the honour of a *Naubat*, a lac of rupees in cash, and the increase of 1000 to his personal rank. He obtained subsequently the Subadári of Guzerát, and died full of years and titles at the advanced age of ninety-five, in the year 1061 H (1651 A D), four years previous to the composition of this work.

Mirzá Muhammad Sálíh succeeded to some portion of the honours of his father, and the other members of the family had each a separate provision assigned to them by the royal munificence.

The *Tarkhan-náma*, after a preface of three pages, opens with a genealogical tree from Noah to Muhammad Sálíh, extending through twenty-eight pages. We then have an abstract history of the Kháns of Turkistan, and of Changíz Khán, and his de-

<sup>1</sup> At this very time we find an Englishman complaining of the same treatment, by which, through the intrigues of the ministers, the king's kind intentions were rendered of none effect.

scendants who ruled in Írán, in forty pages, the history of the Arghuns in twenty-three pages, of the Tarkhán in thirty-three pages, concluding with the death of Mirzá 'Ísa Tarkhán above-mentioned. Altogether, 127 pages 4to (12×9 inches) of 17 lines each. The style is elegant, but, from a comparison with the original authorities, it will appear that its best graces are borrowed. Like other local histories of Sind, it is rare out of that province.

## EXTRACTS

*The Arghún Dynasty of Kandahár and Sind*<sup>1</sup>

It is related by historians that Amír Zú-n Nún, son of Amír Basrí, one of the descendants of Arghún Khán Tarkhán, son of Abaká Khan, son of Hulakú Khán, son of Túlt Khán, son of Changíz Khan, a soldier distinguished for courage and bravery among the warriors of his tribe,<sup>2</sup> was employed by Abú Sa'id Mirzá, and on all occasions acted up to his former character. By this conduct he became a great favourite of Sultán Abú Sa'id. The honours and rewards he received subjected him to the envy and jealousy of his fellows, for his rank was elevated above that of all his relations.

When Sultan Abu Sa'id was slain in the battle of Kárábágh, Amír Zu-n Nun retired to his father in Hirát. He served for a short time under Yádgár Mirzá. Afterwards, when Sultán Husam succeeded to the throne of Khúrásán, Mirzá Amír Mitrí<sup>3</sup> died. Amír Zu-n Nun his son was regarded with favour by Sultán Husam Mirzá, who assigned him the chiefship of Ghor Zamíndáwar and Kandahár. In these countries the warlike tribes of Hazára and Takdár had complete power.<sup>4</sup> Amír Zú-n Nun, in the year 834 H. (1479-80 A.D.), proceeded in that direction with a small body of his tribesfolk (*plus*). For some time he was engaged in hostilities with these people, and, being in all battles victorious and successful he brought the countries into subjection to his rule. The Hazára, Takdár, and all the other



tribes having seen this, quietly submitted to his authority and made no further opposition. The services of Amír Zú-n Nún were so highly approved of, that Sultán Husain bi-l Karar made him absolute governor of Kandahár, Ghór, and other countries. After some time Amír Zú-n Nún Misrî obtained independent power in those provinces, and he also encroached upon the territories of Shál, Mustúng, and their dependencies. In the course of four more years he was in command of a large force and had entirely attached to his interest the people of Hazára, Takdarî, Kipchak, and the Moghals of Kandahár. On hearing this, Sultán Husain sent an imperative order, requiring him to present himself without delay at the imperial court. The Amír acted accordingly, and on his arrival at court made the usual presents. The people were all loud in their praises of his loyalty and fidelity, and consequently the Sultán presented him with a vest of honour, a richly caparisoned horso, kottle drums, and banner, and also granted him a royal patent of investiture. He then ordered him to leave his son and suite at the court, and himself proceed to Kandahár. Immediately on receipt of this order, the Amír seized the first opportunity of secretly taking his son and the nobles who had attended him, and marched with great rapidity to Kandahár, leaving, however, his property, arms, etc., behind him in his residence. In the course of two or three days the Sultán ordered that the Amír should not leave the court for Kandahar until after the festival of Nauroz. The royal messengers, on arriving at the Amír's residence, discovered the flight, and reported to the Sultán the state of affairs. The Sultan, on hearing of it, remarked that the Amír had evidently departed without any intention of returning. But the prince and the nobles argued that his having left horses, camels, carpets, and other property behind him was a proof that his absence would not be of long duration. The Sultan then said that his flight was only another proof of his ready wit and sagacity. However, regrets were now unavailing. A H 911 (1505 A D) Sultán Husain died, and the affairs of the kingdom of Khurásán fell into complete disorder.

Affairs were thus situated when in the Muharram of the year 913 H (May, 1507) Muhammad Khán Shaibání Uzbek crossed the Jihun with an enormous army, like a swarm of ants or locusts,

which he had collected for the purpose of conquering Khurásán Badí'u-z Zaman Mirza, son of the late Sultán Husain, was in great alarm and consternation at the approach of this army, and instantly sent information of the fact to Amír Zú-n Nún<sup>1</sup> The Amír consulted with his sons and nobles, who all entertained different opinions on the subject, but the Amír declared that he considered it incumbent on him to march to the support of the Sultán, and that courage and humanity alike forbade him to remain inactive during this crisis He said that his return was not to be hoped for, as the Uzbek army was powerful and numerous in the extreme, and the fortunes of the house of Sultán Husain were in their decline Accordingly, he assembled a friendly body of Arghún and Tarkhán troops, and marched to the succour of the Prince Badí'u-z Zamán Having arrived at the camp, he was received with every honour The same day the army of the Uzbeks and of Má-waráu-n nahr crossed the river Numerous signs of the approach of Muhammad Khán Shaibaní's overwhelming force were evident Upon reaching the field of the approaching contest, the Prince having reviewed his troops, formed up in order of battle, and from both armies the shouts of the warriors and the roll of the kettle-drums resounded to the vault of heaven

The Amír, with a body of his bold well-mounted horsemen, commenced the attack, and by an impetuous charge, completely routed a body of the enemy, and threw them into utter confusion In vain for as wave follows wave, column after column of the Uzbeks came on in endless succession to the attack, till at last the Khurásánís, unable to contend any longer with such disproportionate numbers, turned rein and fled A scene of the wildest and most hopeless confusion ensued The Amír, however, with a small band of his trusty and indomitable warriors, maintained his ground, now standing on the defensive, now charging one wing of the enemy, and now the other The field was dyed with blood Thus they fought bravely and desperately until the Uzbeks closing in on every side, the Amír was wounded and thrown from his horse Disdaining

<sup>1</sup> Prince Badí'u-z Zamán was married to a daughter of Zú-n Nún M'asúm's *Tárikh-i-Sind*, p 103

the quarter offered him by the Uzbeks, who hoped to take him a prisoner in triumph to Muhammad Khán, he fell, covered with glory

### *Shah Beg Arghún*

Sháh Beg Arghún son of Zú-n Nún, was, on the death of the Amír, placed by the unanimous voice of the chiefs on the vacant throne. He confirmed all his father's appointments, and gave the holders of them robes of honour. He displayed an unparalleled example of equity and justice, by which conduct he so won the hearts of his soldiery, that they became his most devoted and obedient subjects. Sháh Beg always consorted with the most distinguished and scientific men in his kingdom.

At this time Muhammad Khán, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, approached Kara with the determination of adding Kandahar also to his dominions. On his arrival at Garmsir, Sháh Beg sent messengers to him offering his allegiance and submission. He promised that he would express the same at a personal interview. Muhammad Khán was satisfied with this concession and went back.

In the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.), Sháh Isma'il the second, having overcome and killed Muhammad Khán in battle, took possession of Khurásán. The Sháh attained to the greatest power, so much so that the surrounding nations dreaded his might and ambition.

At this juncture Warash Khán marched upon Kara, and set up his standard. Sháh Beg in alarm at this threatened invasion, consulted with his ministers, showing them the imminent danger his country was in—threatened on one side by Sháh Isma'il, the conqueror of Khurásán, and on the other by Bábar Bádsháh, who had already reached Kábul, both with avowed warlike intentions. He pointed out to them the necessity of providing a retreat in case of their losing Kandahár. It was at length resolved to seize the Siwí territory, and in the year 917 H. (1511 A.D.), he set out from Kandahár, and having reached Shál, there made preparations for the ensuing campaign. On his arrival at Síwí he invested the fort. The descendants of Sultán Purdí Birlás, who ruled in Síwí,

advanced to oppose him with three thousand men of the Bulúch tribe as well as other forces. The army of Sháh Beg proved completely victorious. The enemy was utterly overthrown, many were killed in action, and the survivors fled towards Sind. Sháh Beg entered Síwí in triumph, and made a short stay there, during which time he built houses, laid out gardens, and raised a fort which he strongly garrisoned, and, having appointed Mirza 'Isá Tarkhán, one of the most distinguished of his nobles, to be governor, he returned to Kandahár.

Ann H<sub>ij</sub> 919 (A.D. 1513), the Emperor Zahiru-d dín Muhammad Babar having determined upon the conquest of Kandahár, marched upon it with a powerful and numerous army. Sháh Beg collected his forces, with sufficient provisions and munitions of war to enable him to sustain a siege, shut himself up in the fort and posted his men on the walls and bastions. On the arrival of the Emperor in the vicinity of the city, he was attacked by disease, and became very feeble. His ministers and nobles on this became disaffected and mutinous. Shah Beg, having learnt the state of affairs, sent the leading men of Kandahár with instructions to negotiate a peace. The Emperor, consenting to the terms, despatched Khwája Jalálu-d dín with suitable presents, and returned to Kábul. Sháh Beg then withdrew after a short time to Síwí, and made a stay there. Having assembled a general council, he pointed out to them that the Emperor Bábar having once found his way to Kandahár, would not rest contented until he had conquered and brought it under his own rule, that it behoved them to consult their own and the country's safety. In pursuance of this idea, he, at the beginning of the winter season, raised a force of 1000 horse, and despatched them from Síwí to Sind. This force, on the 7th of Zí-l Ka'da 920 (Dec 1514), attacked and took the villages of Kákán and Bághbán. These villages were so densely populated, that, in the sack, 1000 camels, employed on the garden-wells merely, were taken, from this, some idea may be formed of the wealth of the two places<sup>1</sup>. After remaining there a week, they returned with their spoil to Síwí.

<sup>1</sup> Both these places were in the Sarkar of Síwí. The former has since become famous for its gallant defence by our troops—*Tarikh-i Tahirí*, MS p 48, *Tarkhan-nama*, MS p 48, *Tuhfatu-l Kirán*, p 124.

A.H. 921 (1515 A.D.) The Emperor Bábar put into execution the design Sháh Beg had foreseen, and having marched upon Kandahar, laid siege to the fort and commenced mining it. The siege was carried on with vigour, and all supplies being cut off, a great dearth of grain ensued in the city. At this crisis, however, the Emperor's army was so weakened by fever, that a peace was again agreed upon. Whereupon, the Emperor returned to Kábul.

In this same year, Sháh Hasan Mirzá having quarrelled with his father, left him, and went to the Court of the Emperor Bábar, and being by him received with hospitality and distinction, he remained there two years. The Emperor observed that his visit was not from any affection entertained towards himself by Sháh Hasan, but in order that he might learn the art of governing rightly, and at the same time perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court. At length, Sháh Hasan, with the Emperor's permission, returned to Kandahár.

A.H. 922 (1516 A.D.) The Emperor Bábar again assembled an army, and marched upon Kandahár, and he was yet in the jungle when the fort was invested. Sháh Beg, wearied and harassed by these repeated invasions, sent Shaikh Abú Sa'íd Púrání to negotiate a peace, the terms agreed upon were that in the ensuing year the government of Kandahár should be made over to the officers of the Emperor Bábar. Having ratified this treaty, the Emperor returned to Kábul. In pursuance of this arrangement, Sháh Beg, A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), sent the keys of the fort of Kandahar to the Imperial Court, by the hands of Mir Ghiásu-d dín, grandson of Khondamír, author of the *Habíbu-s Siyar*, and father of Mir Abú l Makárim, and grandfather of 'Abdu-llah Sultán. This ratification of the cession was approved of by his majesty<sup>1</sup>.

After the subjugation of his country, Sháh Beg remained two years in Shál and Siwál, reduced to penury and distress. In such straits was he, that his army was compelled during this period to subsist upon nothing but carrots, turnips, and other such vegetables. Towards the end of the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), he made warlike preparations for the conquest of Sind. In consequence of the removal of Mirzá 'Isá, he left Sultán 'Alí Arghún and Zíbak Tarkhán,

<sup>1</sup> An incorrect parentage is ascribed in the text to this learned envoy. See the articles KHULASATU-L AKHBÁR and HABÍBU-S SIYAR, in Vol. II.

with a number of men for the protection of the forts of Síwí and Ganjawa. He despatched a-head of his army a force of 200 horse under Mir Fazíl Kokaltásh, and himself followed at the head of 300 more. On entering the Sind territory, he soon reached Bághbán, he learnt that an army of Samejas, under the command of Mahmúd Khán, son of Daryá Khán, was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Síwistán, and prepared to do battle. Sháh Beg halted at Bághbán, where he was well received by the principal inhabitants. He then resumed his march through the Lakkí hills towards Thatta, and at last reached that river which in those days ran to the north of Thatta<sup>1</sup>. Being unprovided with means of transit, he stopped for some days on the bank, revolving in his mind how to effect a passage. At this juncture, the men on guard perceived that a man driving a laden ass was fording the river from the opposite bank. He was seized and compelled by monaces to show the way through the ford<sup>2</sup>. 'Abdu-r Rahmán Daulat Sháhí then plunged on horseback into the river, reached the other bank and then returned and reported the fact to Sháh Beg, who availing himself of this information, on the 15th day of Muharram A. H. 927 (December, 1520), crossed the river with his force, and marched towards the city of Thatta. On which, Daryá Khán, the adopted son of Jám Nanda, having left Jam Fíroz in garrison at Thatta, hastened at the head of his army to give the Amir battle.

After a long, bloody, and well-contested action, in which Daryá Khan, with a host of Sammas, was killed, victory declared itself in favour of Shah Beg. On receipt of this disastrous intelligence, Jám Fíroz left Thatta and fled without stopping until he reached the village of Pírír<sup>3</sup> with a heavy heart. Thatta was given up to plunder till the 20th of the month, in the course of which the inhabitants were treated with merciless severity, and many of them were carried into captivity. The holy text, "Surely when

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch in his life of Antony, tells us that a costermonger, Eutychus, who performed a somewhat similar service for Augustus, before the battle of Actium, was rewarded by the grateful Emperor with a statue of himself and of his ass, with an equally auspicious name, Nikon. This beautiful work of art was destroyed, with too many others, by the barbarous Franks on their capture of Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> This place is in the hilly tract north of Thatta.

kings enter a village they destroy it," was fully exemplified in this instance. At last, by the strenuous exertions of Kázi Kázin a most distinguished scholar, these outrages were put an end to, and proclamation was made to the effect that the people of the city were to remain undisturbed.<sup>1</sup> The fugitive Jám Fíroz remained, with a few men who had accompanied him, at Pírár, his family being still at Thatta. At length, finding that nothing was left for him but submission, he despatched a messenger to Sháh Beg, humbly entreating forgiveness, and expressing his willingness to submit himself unconditionally to the will and pleasure of his conqueror, with most solemn promises of future good conduct.

Sháh Beg moved by that generosity which distinguished him, and having pity on the miserable condition of his vanquished enemy, received the messenger most graciously, and granted him a robe of honour, at the same time sending a friendly answer to Jám Fíroz, who on the receipt of it came with a number of his friends, towards the end of the month Safar, to Thatta, dressed in most humble guise, a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete subjection. He was permitted the honour of kissing the hands of Shah Beg. He then repeated his expressions of sorrow and contrition. Sháh Beg, having assured him of his forgiveness, invested him with the robe of honour which Sultán Husam Mirzá had before bestowed on Mir Zú-n Nún, and conferred on him the governorship of Thatta. He then held a conference with his nobles and ministers. The Sind territory, he declared, was too extensive for his own immediate government and control. It was therefore advisable to divide it, assigning one half to Jám Fíroz, and keeping the other under his own management. They all concurred, and it was arranged that the territory extending from the Lakkí hills, near Síwistán, to Thatta, should be assigned to Jám Fíroz, while the upper part from the same hills should remain in his own possession. Having settled this, Sháh Beg marched in the direction of Síwistán. The inhabitants of this place, dreading the arrival of the victorious army fled to Thátí, and

<sup>1</sup> The *Tārīkh-i Sind* (p. 139), makes him, in true Oriental fashion, take an arrow from his quiver, which he gives to Kázi Kázin, to show that he was really accredited by the Moghal plunderer.

having joined themselves with the Sa'ta and Súmra tribes,<sup>1</sup> formed themselves in order of battle and advanced to give fight. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Sháh Beg proved again victorious, his adversaries fled, and he took possession of the fort of Siwistán. Having put it in complete repair, he placed in it some of his most distinguished nobles, among others Mír 'Alaika Arghún, Sultán Mukím Beg-Lár, Kaibuk Arghún, and Ahmad Tarkhán, all these he ordered to erect houses in the fort for themselves. He then took his departure for Bhakkar, and after several days marching arrived at the plain surrounding Sakhar. A few days after he reached Bhakkar, where he was much gratified with the fort and town. Having visited and inspected these, he laid out the town, assigning various quarters to his officers and soldiers. He caused a plan to be made of the fort, and placed it in the care of his principal officers, in order that, each one doing his part, they might put it into complete repair. The hard bricks for this purpose were provided by the destruction of the fort of Alor (anciently the seat of government) and of the houses of the Turk and Samma people in the suburbs of Bhakkar.<sup>2</sup> In a short space of time the works were finished. He fixed on the citadel of the fort as a residence for himself, and Mírzá Sháh Husam, he also permitted Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, Sultán Muhammad, keeper of the seal, and one or two others to reside in it. He employed a whole year in finishing the buildings in the fort and settling the affairs of his subjects.

A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.) Shah Beg left Páymda Muhammad Tarkhán in charge of Bhakkar, and advanced with a considerable army to the conquest of Guzerat. During his progress down the river, he swept the country on both banks from the foul inhabitants. On the arrival of the army at Ohandúka, Mír Fázil Kokaltásh was taken dangerously ill, and after lingering a few days died. This incident so affected Sháh Beg that an idea took possession of his mind that the death of his friend was a warning of the near approach

<sup>1</sup> [تهشی in the text] Mír M'asúm (p. 141) has, Talahti, instead of Thati and Samma instead of Sa ta. "Sihta" is probably the correct reading, which we find sometimes applied to the Sammas. Another copy reads Sodha instead of Sámra.

<sup>2</sup> Mír M'asúm adds that the Sayids were turned out of Bhakkar, and allowed a space of ground in Rori, whereon to build new houses — *Turkhi-i Sind*, 150.



of his own. Shortly after, intelligence was received of the Emperor Bábar's arrival in the vicinity of Bhara and Khusháb, with the avowed intention of conquering the country of Hindústán. On hearing this, Sháh Beg observed that Bábar had no intention of leaving him at peace, but that he would ultimately seize Sind, either from him or his descendants. It was needful therefore to seek out some other asylum. Having said this, he complained of a violent pain in his bowels. Every remedy was tried to alleviate it, but in vain, for in the month Sha'hán, 928  $\pi$  (June, 1522), after a reign of fifteen years, Sháh Beg died, without having been able to effect his intention of entering Guzerát. "Shahr Sha'hán" is the chronogram of his death.

### *Murzá Sháh Husain Arghún*

On the death of Sháh Beg, in  $\lambda \pi$  928 (1522 A D), Sháh Husain Arghún succeeded to the throne<sup>1</sup>. He conferred dresses of honour and marks of his favour on those chiefs, judges, nobles, and ministers who had assembled to congratulate him on his accession. As this event took place at the end of the Ramazan, when the great festival was about to be celebrated, the nobles about his person represented that on this great and memorable occasion it were well that the Khutba were read in his name. This he refused to permit, saying that as long as any descendant of the Sálub-kirán (Timú) existed, no other man could assume this privilege. Accordingly the Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor Zahir-ud-dín Muhammád Bábar. During the celebration of the festival, the Sháh remained in the same place. In the meantime he received intelligence how that Jám Fíroz and the people of Thatta had heard with delight of the demise of Sháh Beg, and had beaten their drums in token of joy and gratification. Incensed at these proceedings, Murza Sháh Husain having consulted with his minister, and having come to the conclusion that the prosecution of his father's designs on Guzerát was not advisable, ordered his army to march on Thatta in order to destroy Jám Fíroz. News of this determination soon reached Thatta, and Jám Fíroz, being utterly unable to oppose

<sup>1</sup> Some authorities give the name as Hasan, as in page 308 *supra*, but the other is the best authenticated. Respecting Sháh Beg's death, see the Appendix.

the army marching against him, hastily fled from the city, and crossing the river in despair took his way towards Kach. When he reached Cháchkán and Rálmán, he collected an army of about 50,000 horse and foot. With this formidable force, consisting of the people of Sind and the Samma tribe, he returned with the intention of coming to an engagement with Mirzá Sháh Husain, who at the head of his ever victorious troops, had already arrived at the city of Thatta. On hearing of the force which Jám Fíroz was bringing against him, the Sháh having left a body of men for the protection of the city, the inhabitants being in a state of the greatest alarm, marched out with the view of bringing the enemy to an engagement. On nearing the Sindian army, he formed his troops in order of battle, and advanced. Suddenly he came in view of the enemy, who, greatly alarmed at the sight of the Moghals, dismounted, left their horses, doffed their turbans, tied the corners of each other's clothes together, and thus engaged in the conflict. Mirzá Sháh Husain knew it to be the custom of the people of Sind and Hind, when resolved upon fighting to the death, to leave their horses, and bare-headed and bare-footed, tie themselves together by each other's clothes and waistbands,—so he saw these preparations with delight, and congratulating his nobles and officers on the evident despair of the enemy, and the consequent assurance of victory to themselves, gave the order for the attack. On this, his troops armed with their bows and arrows, and sword in hand, rushed vehemently to the charge, spreading consternation and dismay in the ranks of the enemy. From morning to evening the battle was bloodily contested. Nearly 20,000 men fell on the field, till at last, Jám Fíroz, being defeated, fled, covered with shame and disgrace, to Guzerát, where he remained until his death. Mirzá Sháh Husain remained for three days on the field of battle, distributing the horses and all other booty amongst his people, and showering rewards upon his officers, he then returned in triumph to Thatta. Thence he went to Tughlikábad, where he remained six months, when he proceeded towards Bhakkar. On his arrival

After the lapse of two years, A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.), Mirzā Shāh Husain came to the determination to invade Multān, in pursuance of which design he ordered his nobles and generals to make the necessary arrangements. At the commencement of the year A.H. 931 (1525 A.D.), he started on this expedition. On reaching the city of Uch he found the Bulúchís and Langáhs prepared to fight. The Multān army in those days was a hundred-fold greater than the Mirzā's, yet he, trusting in Divine assistance, drew up his army with great care and circumspection, and with his Moghal troops began the battle. When these two brave armies confronted each other, the Moghals employed their deadly fire, and the Langáhs and Bulúchís plied their bows and arrows. The contest was sharp, but victory at length declared itself in favour of Mirzā Shāh Husain. Many of the Langáhs were slain, the rest fled. The fort was captured, and orders were given to demolish the buildings in the city of Uch.

The news of the Shāh's success soon reached the ears of Sultān Muhammad Langáh, the ruler of Multān.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon he despatched parties in all directions, with instructions to levy forces with the greatest celerity. In accordance with these orders, within the course of a month, an army consisting of 80,000 horse and foot, composed of men of the Bulúch, Jat, Rind, Dádí, and other tribes, was raised.<sup>2</sup> At the head of his large and powerful force, the Sultān set out from Multān. The Mirzā on hearing of these numbers being brought against him, took up a position on the banks of the Ghara and there awaited the attack of the enemy. Sultān Mahmúd remained for a month in the suburbs of Multān for the purpose of constructing such engines as might be required, and of amply providing his army with the necessary munitions and stores. Having effected this he resumed his march. The Sultān, inflated with pride and puffed up with a certainty of victory, at last arrived at Beg. Here it happened that Shaikh Shujá' Bukhárí, the son-in-law of the

<sup>1</sup> The original says Sultān Husain, but he had died more than twenty years before this event.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tuhfatul-Kirdm* (p. 46), says that the Rind is a Bulúch tribe. They are still a very influential and powerful clan. See Masson's *Journey to Keldt*, p. 322. Mir M'asum adds to these tribes by naming also the Kanrái and Ohándya.—*Turikh-i-Sind*, p. 185.

Sultán, a man possessed of great influence in the political and fiscal affairs of the State, was detected in an intrigue in the royal harom. This having come to the knowledgo of the Sultán, he was so enraged, that the Shaikh saw his only safety lay in the death of the Sultán. Having obtained from the treasury the deadly poison there deposited for the destruction of those obnoxious to the State, he administered it to Sultán Mahmúd. The army, which consisted chiefly of Buluchis, being thus deprived of its head, the greatest confusion reigned.

The Langáhs placed Sultán Husam, son of the late Sultán Mahmúd, upon the vacant throne, and finding it necessary to make peace, they sent the holy Shaikh Bahá'u-d-dín to negotiate a treaty. The Shaikh submitted his terms to Mirza Sháh Husam, who approved and ratified them. The Mirzá then returned, and on his arrival at Uch, ordered another fort to be erected there. In the mean time, Langer Khán, one of the late Sultán Mahmud's nobles, came to the Mirzá and informed him that, owing to the youth of Sultán Husam, he was unfit to conduct the Government of Multán,—that the duties of the State were neglected, and that in consequence of the tyranny and oppression, rebellions and insurrections had broken out in the city, that all the greatest and best disposed of the inhabitants were desirous of another ruler. He ended by imploring the Mirzá to march again upon Multán. Mirzá Sháh Husam complied with this request, and on reaching the city laid close siege to the fort, which was garrisoned by the Langáh army. Desultory fighting took place daily between the two forces. At length a great scarcity of provisions took place in the city. This increased to such an extent that even the head of a cow was valued at ten tankas, while the price of grain rose to 100 tankas per maund. After some time had elapsed, a party of soldiers one morning forced the gate of the city. The troops rushed in and captured the place. All the inhabitants of the city from seven years of age up to seventy, were

their reverend protector, received them kindly, and abstained from doing them any injury

After a stay of two months in the city, the Mirzá left Khwája Shamsu-d dín, with a force of 200 horse, 100 foot, and 100 gunners<sup>1</sup> under him in charge of Multán, and having sent a message to the Court of the Emperor, Zahíru-d dín Bábar, offering Multán to him, he returned to Bhakkar, and thence went to Thatta, where, having inspected and satisfied himself as to the proper management of the surrounding country, he fixed his abode, and passed fifteen years in the enjoyment of peace and tranquility

In the Ramazán A.H. 949 (Dec 1542, A.D.), the Emperor Nasíru-d dín Hámu-yún on account of the rebellion of Shír Khán Afghán came from Lahore towards Sind. Having taken up his quarters in the town of Laharí (Rorí), he established his own residence within the walls of the delightful garden of Babarlúka. Sultán Mahmúd desolated the country, and himself took refuge in the fort of Bhakkar. The Emperor sent Amír Táhir Sadar and Samandar Beg to Mirzá Sháh Husain in Thatta, reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship which had existed between the Tarkháns and the late Emperor Bábar. Mirzá Sháh Husain paid much honour to the royal messengers, and said that if the Emperor intended to invade Guzerát, he, the Mirzá, attended by his whole army, would accompany him on the expedition, and not return till the conquest had been effected. He also made over to him the tract extending from Hála Kandí to Bitúra on the other side of the river, to defray the expenses of the royal household. He sent Shaikh Mírak Púrání and Mirzá Kásim Tafáí to the Emperor, bearing similar terms and suitable presents. On their arrival there, they expressed the Mirzá's loyalty and presented the petition of which they were the bearers. After a few days, the Emperor dismissed the ambassadors, and wrote with his own hand a letter to their master, to the following effect: "To Sháh Husain, greeting (after the usual compliments), I comply with your request on this condition, namely, that you serve me with fidelity. Farewell!"

Mirzá Sháh Husain had formed his determination to present himself to the Emperor at a personal interview. The Arghún nobles

<sup>1</sup> [*Topchí*—musketeers?]

were, however, of a different opinion and altogether adverse to submitting themselves, and by their cunning and designing arts raised a quarrel, by which means they prevented Sháh Husain from following the dictates of his own judgment. The Emperor remained at Babarluka for five months in the full expectation that Shah Husain would come to meet him and having sworn allegiance would become a faithful ally. Having been informed as to the intentions of the Arghúns, he marched with his army on the first of Jumáda'l Awwal a.h. 948 (Aug.-Sept., 1541), towards Siwistan, on his arrival at which place, he laid siege to the fort. Mirza Husain having received intelligence of this movement, came from Thatta and formed an entrenched camp. The Emperor ordered mines to be dug under the fort, by means of which he succeeded in destroying one bastion. The garrison however, speedily remedied the injury done to their defences by raising another wall. The Emperor saw that the Arghúns had strengthened the work, and was aware that he was altogether unprovided with the engines necessary for the successful termination of the siege. Seven months had now elapsed since he first laid siege to the fort. Mirzā Sháh Husain succeeded in stopping the conveyance of supplies to the besieging army, which moreover were impeded by contrary winds and the rising of the river. Owing to these unfortunate circumstances, the army was greatly distressed. At this juncture the Emperor received a petition from Rajá Máldeo of Jodpur, intimating that during his majesty's absence, the Rajá had continued his faithful service, and hoped for his arrival. Should the Emperor deem it fit to bring his ever prosperous army, the Rajá was at his service with 20,000 Rájputs, and would accompany the Imperial army to whatever place it may be directed to march.

In consequence of this invitation, in Rabi'ul Awwal, a.h. 949 (May-June, 1542), the Emperor marched towards the territories of Rajá Máldeo. After some marches, he approached near them but

On hearing this, the Emperor became alarmed, and was much downcast, and after consultation he left the Jodpur territory, and marched with great speed to Satalmír. Thence he rapidly proceeded to Jesalmír, and from thence he continued his journey to 'Umarkot. During his march hither his army suffered much from drought. On his arrival, Dair Sál the chief, accompanied by his people, came out to meet him, and kissed his stirrup<sup>1</sup>. He cleared the fort of its occupants and assigned it to the use of the Emperor, who remained in it for some days.

The people of Thatta sent the great Sayyid 'Alí Shírází, who was Shaikh-i Islám at that time, with presents of fruits and perfumes, the star of his prosperity again arose from the horizon of greatness.

On Sunday, the 5th of Rajab, A. H. 949 (15th October, 1542), was born the great Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar. His father rejoiced greatly at the birth of a son. The first clothes of the child were, for the sake of superior sanctity, made out of the garments of the aforesaid Sayyid. As there was in 'Umarkot no place fitted for the residence of a king, the Court was compelled to remove to Sind. Having set out they reached the town of Jún, situated on the banks of the Ravi. This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes. In these gardens the Emperor remained for some days, within sight of the town. Mirza Husain also came with his forces into its vicinity, and there encamped. Daily skirmishes took place in the environs of the town between the followers of the two camps. One day, Tímur Sultán, Shaikh 'Alí Beg, and Tardi Beg Khán, with a body of men, made preparations to attack a fort which was filled with grain. Mirzá Sháh Husain's officer, Sultan Mahmud Khan Bhakkarí, being apprized of their design, took a large force, and in the morning attacked them. Shaikh 'Alí Beg with his sons, stood his ground until he was slain, others of his force were also killed in this engagement. Their adversaries also suffered heavy loss. The Emperor, grieved at the occurrence, contracted a disgust for Sind, and determined upon going to Kandahár.

<sup>1</sup> The *Tuhfatul Kirdm* (p. 50) gives this name "Ráná Wair Sál." Mir *M'asim* (p. 213) has "Ráná Bair Sál."

In the meantime, on the 7th of Muharram A.H. 950, (12th April, 1543, A.D.), Bairam Khán came, unattended, from Guzerát, and having met the Emperor attempted to console him. He endeavoured with success to negotiate a peace between the contending parties. Sháh Husain, delighted with the prospect of peace, readily agreed to the proposal, and sent the Emperor 100,000 muskáls in cash, all the equipage required for travelling (which he caused to be prepared), with 300 horse and an equal number of camels. A bridge also was built near the town, on which the Emperor observed that the Arabic words *Sirát mustakím*, signifying "a strong bridge," formed the chronogram of the date of the treaty and the construction of the bridge, i.e. A.H. 950, (A.D. 1543-4). On the 7th of Rabi'-ul A'khir of the same year, the Emperor marched towards Kandahár and Mirzá Sháh Husain returned to Thatta. It is said that the Mirzá became, towards the end of his life, afflicted with palsy. He chose as his companions men of loose character and mean extraction. The Moghals, Tarkháns, and others, being unable to obtain an audience at the Court, remained in their own houses. Daily, men of notoriously bad character were raised to preferment, for instance, early in the year 960 (1553 A.D.), the *Arbabí*, or prefecture of the city, was conferred upon 'Arabí Káhi, while the premiership was entrusted to Ism'íl, an innkeeper. Towards the close of the same year, Mirzá Sháh Husain made 'Arabí Káhi his viceregent in the fort of Tughlikábád, and installed Shaibah and Rafik, two slaves whom he had purchased and made his most confidential advisers, as superintendents of the city. Having thus placed all the Moghals, Arghúns, Tarkháns, etc., under the control of 'Arabí Káhi, he himself went to Bhakkar.

It happened that the sons of 'Arabí Káhi, being rapacious and greedy, oppressed the Moghals. Seeing this, the Arghúns and Tarkháns in Thatta became alarmed and much grieved. On this, 'Arabí Káhi, with the concurrence of his friends, sent information to Mirzá Sháh Husain, that the Arghún and Tarkhán inhabitants of the city had thrown off their allegiance, and were filled with visionary schemes against him. Thus, he said, jeopardized the safety of the country, and therefore he had deemed it necessary to take the circumstance. Infuriated by this intelligence,



orders that 'Arabí Káhí should invite into the fort the most seditious of the Arghún tribe, such as Mír Farrukh, Mír Kabak, Mír Tímúr, Mír Fázil, Mír Khallá, etc., and there put them to death. He said that this example would intimidate the others, who would then return to their allegiance. He at the same time treacherously sent a letter to the Moghals, couched in kind terms, stating that they were his brothers and of the same tribe with himself, and that ('Arabí Káhí) and such fellows, were in reality only their servants and slaves, that to the disgust of the Sammas he had raised these men of low degree to elevated ranks, and that if in conformity to his orders they were obeyed and respected, then, considering themselves highly honoured, they would the more readily devote themselves to the duties assigned them. It happened, that these two contradictory letters both fell into the hands of the Moghals, who thus becoming aware of the Shah's duplicity and treacherous designs, revolted, and having seized 'Arabí Káhí, Rafík, Shaibah, and Isma'il, put them to death in the beginning of Muharram A.H. 961 (Dec 1553). Having taken Máh Begam, consort of the Mirzá, together with his other concubines, prisoners, they consulted amongst themselves and agreed to the necessity of choosing a leader for the better prosecution of their business. They all offered themselves as candidates, each man declaring that he would not consent to anyone being preferred before himself. This being the state of the case, it was at last agreed that, as the Arghúns could not choose one among themselves, in preference to another, who might have honours and obsequies paid him, it was advisable, therefore, to select as their chief, one from out the Tarkhán tribe. That Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, governor of Fath Bágh, being wise, prudent, and of noble descent, was best qualified for the office and likely to accede to their request. They then invited the Mirzá from Fath Bágh and informed him of their wishes. On his arrival, they showed him great hospitality, and, persisting in their request, obtained his consent. They then nominated him their chief, and placed him at the head of the government of Thatta. They paid him royal respect and homage, and having sworn allegiance, placed themselves under his authority, and made proclamation of his supremacy by beat of drums. The Mirzá took possession of the treasure, and having lavished large sums amongst

the army, established his power over the several districts and tribes of Sind.

Enraged at these occurrences, Mirzá Sháh Husain seized the Arghúns and Tarkhúns who were in Bhakkar, such as Mír Jání Beg Tarkhán, Mír Ahmad Tarkhán, Mír Hamza Beg-Lár, Mír Murád Husain Beg-Lár, and others, and then marched at the head of a considerable army to Thatta to give battle to the Arghúns and Tarkhúns. On his arrival within two kos of the city, the two armies came into collision on the banks of the stream of Sháh Panáh. Two or three engagements took place in which both armies suffered considerable loss. In the midst of this campaign, Mirzá Sháh Husain was attacked by a fatal sickness.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, the greatest noble under Sháh Husain, was commander-in-chief of his forces. He was the son of Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, son of 'Akil Khwája, son of Ahmad Khwája, one of the greatest chiefs of Ispahán. At the time when Sáhib-Kurán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán marched for the conquest of Irák, the chiefs of Ispahán having revolted, threw off their allegiance to him. The Sáhib-Kurán on this gave orders that they should be plundered and destroyed, and sent a formidable army to enforce his commands. During this invasion, Ahmad Khwája father of 'Akil Khwája fell into the hands of Mír Hasan Basrí, father of Mirzá Zú-n Nun, and he having adopted him as his son, bestowed great pains on his education. Ahmad Khwája flourished three generations before Malik Mahmúd Khán, a man famous for his generosity, and nineteen generations after 'Iddí, son of Hatim Táí. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, was chiefly characterized by his liberality and courage, in which latter he was unequalled. During his service with Mirza Sháh Husain, he had given repeated proofs of his valour. On seeing that the Mirzá's days were numbered, and that he had but a short time to live, he reflected that daily Musulmans were losing their lives in the strife, and that shortly he would be involved in inextricable difficulties. He therefore sent privately a message to Mirzá 'Tsá Tarkhán, to the effect that Mirzá Sháh Husain was on the point of death, that when that occurred, there would be no one to interfere between them, and that it would be advisable to enter into a mutual engagement. He refused to revolt. master

during his lifetime, but on his death he proposed an equal division of the country,—from the Lakkí hills down to the sea should belong to Mirzá 'Isa, and from the same hills to Bhakkar should belong to himself. The next morning, at the suggestion of Sultan Mahmúd, the great Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Púrání, and Mirzá Kásim Beg-Lár brought the apologies of Mirzá 'Isa, expressing his sorrow and shame for the disrespectful conduct of the Arghúns towards the Mirzá. He sent word that if the Mirzá would pardon him, and release such of the Arghúns and Tarkhúns as were imprisoned, he would himself come in the hope of getting forgiveness for the past. Mirzá Sháh Husain, actuated by merciful motives, liberated the prisoners, and sent them to Mirzá 'Isá, who in return ordered that Mah Begam and all the other captive concubines should be taken to the camp of the Mirzá. Next day, Mirzá Kásim Beg brought a letter to Mirza 'Isá to this effect —“You should not have chosen this line of conduct, which can only tend to bring a bad name on both parties. Well! let bygones be bygones. In expectation of my mercy, you must either come yourself or send your son, that I may, through my own spontaneous kindness, confer on him the governorship of Thatta, while I myself return to Bhakkar.” As the Arghúns, Tarkhúns, and soldiers, in their foresight, advised Mirzá 'Isa not to go himself, he turned to his eldest son, Mirzá Báki, and told him that he should go. The son refused, and said, “If you are anxious for my death, kill me with your own hand, but do not deliver me over to the hand of the enemy.” On this, the Mirzá looked at his second son, Mirzá Sálh, who, having arisen, rose and said, “Be satisfied, I will go. Either he will keep his word, or he will not. If he does, it will fulfil our hopes, if he does not, your safety must be secured. I am prepared to sacrifice myself, and obtain the honour of martyrdom!” Mirza 'Isá Tarkhán, seeing his spirit, embraced him with paternal affection, and gave him permission to proceed on the mission. Mirzá Sálh with a few brave men went on the fourth of Rabi'u-l Awwal, A H 961 (Feb 1554), accompanied by Mirzá Muhammad Kásim Beg-Lár, to meet Mirzá Sháh Husain, and offer his presents. The Mirzá with great kindness praised his fidelity and courage, and calling him

his dear son, invested him with a rich robe, a girdle, and sword adorned with precious stones, together with a horse, and saddle and bridle set with gems, a necklace, and a kettledrum. He furthermore conferred on him the governorship of Thatta, and then gave him permission to retire. Returning in safety to Thatta, he caused the kettledrum to be sounded before him, and presenting to his father all he had received, he remained under his protection, obedient to his orders.

About the same time Mirzá Sháh Husain marched back towards Bhakkar, and on the 12th of the same month, died at the village of 'Aliputra, twenty kos from Thatta, after a reign of thirty-two years. Máh Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb carried his remains to Thatta, where they were temporarily deposited in the Makali Hills. After two years they were sent in charge of Sa'iid 'Alí Shurázi and Máh Begam to the holy city of Mecca and were re-

Bhakkar He reached Bhakkar in the month of Muharram, A H 962 (Nov 1554), where Sultan Mahmúd had drawn up his army to resist him. Two or three engagements followed, and many were killed on both sides. Sultán Mahmúd was at length compelled to take refuge in the fort, where he was so hardly pressed that he sent Sayyid Mír Kalán, grandfather of Mír M'asúm Bhakkarí, to treat with Mirzá 'Tsá, making professions of friendship, and offering to give up Siwistán and its appurtenances, if Bhakkar were secured to him, urging also that Bhakkar was on the frontier of Hindustan, and acted as a barrier on that side. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that the Firingis, who were coming from Lahori-bandar to the assistance of Mirzá 'Tsá Tarkhán, finding the city of Thatta unprotected, had plundered it, set fire to it, and made the inhabitants prisoners. The Mirzá therefore accepted the proposal of Sultan Mahmúd, and peace being concluded, he hastened back to Thatta, and resumed the government.

In the beginning of the year 964 H (November, 1556), Mirzá Muhammad Báki rebelled against his father, asserting his rights as eldest son, and objecting to the selection of Mirzá Muhammad Sálíh as heir to the throne. In the fighting which ensued, Muhammad Báki was worsted, and he fled to Wanka, which was the abode of the Súmrás. There he formed a connection with sundry Arghúns, and returned with them by way of 'Umarkot and Jesalmír to Bhakkar. On his arriving there, Sultan Mahmúd Khán laudably exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between him and his father, but Mirzá 'Tsá Tarkhán, out of regard for Mirzá Sálíh, exiled Muhammad Báki from Thatta, and sent him to Bhakkar. Here he endeavoured to procure assistance from Hindustan,<sup>1</sup> but Sultán Mahmúd opposed him. The Sultán foresaw that if an army came from Hindustan it must necessarily pass by Bhakkar, which would be the first place to suffer. So he kindly but firmly opposed the project.

In the year 970 H (1562 A.D.) the brave Muhammad Sálíh, who had won so many victories, drank the sherbet of martyrdom from the hands of a Bulúch named Murid. The family and tribe of this

man had been put to death by Muhammad Salih in punishment of their robberies, so holding a petition in his hand he placed himself in the way of the Mirza. The prince called him to his side and stooped down to receive the petition, when the castrif plunged a dagger into his breast, and killed him.

After the death of his favourite son, Mirzá 'Tsa Tarkhán nominated Mirza Jan Bibi as heir apparent. After some time Sultan Mahmúd begged Mirzá 'Tsa to forgive his son Muhammad Báki, but failed in his object. Several nobles who inclined to the side of that prince then interested themselves on his behalf, and roused the father's pride by urging that the prince ought not to be a dependant on Sultan Mahmud. Being thus induced to pardon his son, Mirzá 'Tsa sent Sháh 'Abdu-l Waháb Puríní and Mír Yár Muhammad, his nephew, to bring him home. When Muhammad Báki arrived, he waited on his father, and, receiving the town of Sinistán as his jagir, departed thither.

Tarkhâns, the ministers and nobles, and all the chief men of the country, in order once more to name Mirzá Jân Bábá as his successor. But Máh Begam strenuously opposed this, maintaining the right of Muhammad Báki, the eldest son. The dying monarch declared that Muhammad Báki was tyrannical and cruel, that the people would suffer under his rule, and that she herself would perish by his hand. The end of it all was that Máh Begam sent to hasten the coming of Muhammad Báki, and kept the death of his father secret until his arrival. Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhan, who had reigned fourteen years, was then buried in a tomb, which he had constructed in his garden, and Muhammad Báki ascended the throne.

## VIII

## TUHFATU-L KIRAM

[THIS is a work in three volumes by 'Alí Sher Kámi' The first two volumes are of considerable length, but all the matter of special historical interest is comprised in the third. A succinct synopsis of the contents of the work is prefixed to the first volume. According to this the work commences with—

Vol I. A Preface in two parts and three books. Book I. contains three sections,—On the (1) Prophets, (2) Kings, (3) Philosophers, saints, poets, and great men before the time of Muhammad. Book II is divided into five sections, (1) Ancestors of the Prophet, (2) Memoirs of the Prophet, (3) the Four Khalifs, (4) the Four Imáms, (5) Celebrated Descendants of the Four Imáms. Book III, in three sections, (1) The Umayyide Khalifs and their representatives in 'Irák and Khurásán, with notices of the chiefs and great men of the times, (2) The 'Abbáside Khalifs, including those who set up the Khalifat in Egypt, and also the great men and warriors of the period, (3) Kings cotemporary with the 'Abbásides.

Vol II. General History, with notices of philosophers, nobles, ministers, and other great men.

Vol III. Special History of Sind, including descriptions of its cities and villages, histories of its rulers, and memoirs of its great, learned, and distinguished men.]

This third volume, as it is the latest, so it is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind. In the



and introduces subjects not treated of in that work, such as the legendary tales which are familiar in the country, the origin of some of the tribes, and the separate biographies of the principal officers and nobles who acquired distinction under the later dynasties. The authors are both equally credulous in recording the miracles of saints, but the extent to which the hagiography runs in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* is much greater than in the *Tárikh-i Sind*, there being scarcely a village in that priest-ridden country which has not its tombs of holy men, whose lives and powers are here recorded with implicit faith.

The work opens with the dynasties of the Ráís and Brahmans, followed by the history of the Arab conquest, well abridged from the *Chach-náma*. This comprises twenty pages. In thirty more we have the legends, the governors appointed by the kings of Dehli, the Súmrás and Sammas, then the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, with their nobles, in thirty-six pages, the imperial governors under the Tímúrians in twenty-four pages, and an account of the Kalhora dynasty to the time of Mían Sár-faraz, Khán in twelve pages. All this is comprised in a little less than half the volume. The rest is entirely devoted to the saints, seers, *sayyids*, *shazhs*, and devotees, with a notice of the poets and calligraphists of Sind.

There are two chronograms at the end of the volume, representing that it was completed in A H 1181 (1767-8 A D), but near the middle, at the close of the account of the Kalhoras, we have later dates several times mentioned, extending to the year A H 1188.

The author quotes as his authorities all the native histories noticed in the preceding articles, and in the accounts of the saints we find incidentally mentioned the *Jawahiru-l Aulya*, the *Hadikatu-l Aulyá*, the *Ma'lamátu-l Áfál*, and the *Tughhátu-l Murad*. Some other authors quoted in the body of the work are obtained at second hand.

Extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* have been given by Lt. Postans in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numbers

lxxiv, 1838, and clviii, 1845 In the latter we have the portion relating to the Arab conquest of Sind, which, as before mentioned, is abstracted from the *Chach-nāma*

The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* is the title of one of the works of the celebrated Jalālu-d din Soyutī, according to the Parisian catalogue of his writings given in G Fluegel's edition of Hájí Khalfá's *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, Vol vi pp 665-679

[Sir H Elliot's copy consists of three volumes quarto Vol I, measuring 11 in by 8 in, contains 746 pages Vol II, 889 pages, of 17 lines each Vol III is a little larger (12 in by 8½ in), and contains 242 pages, of 25 lines each, in a much smaller hand There is also a new copy of Vol III]

#### EXTRACTS

##### *The Sindian Ordeal of Fire*

Some customs have obtained from of old among the inhabitants of Sind,<sup>1</sup> which, although they spring from ignorance, their practice is specially observed by them

When a person is suspected of any grave offence, and desires to purge himself of the charge, he offers to pass through the flames of a large fire, like a salamander, and come out of it unharmed, like Khalil In the story of Sassí and Máruí we shall have an instance of this ordeal

Another ordeal, still practiced among the most ignorant, is that of taking up a red-hot spade, and this will also be noticed in the story of Máruí Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several paces quickly, and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of

like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain. Verily this is by the virtue of Truth, for if otherwise, how is it that such fire does not burn the hand ?

A modern story runs thus —A woman stole a pair of shoes belonging to the wife of a certain horseman, but denied the theft. When the time approached for undergoing the ordeal of the hot iron, she artfully concealed the shoes in a basket filled with cotton, and making it seem as if the carrying that were her business at the moment, entered the assembly, and handing it to the horseman's wife, asked her to take charge of it during the ordeal. She then said, "The truth is, I did find a pair of shoes belonging to so and so, and I have made them over to the owner! By the same token I now take up this red-hot spade" She took it up unharmed, and was then purged of the charge. The complainant then angrily threw the basket on the ground, and, as Truth is sure to prevail, the trick of this artful woman was exposed

### *The Ordeal of Water*

A stout post is fixed in deep water, the accused is then told to dive to the bottom, and stay by the post. One of the company shoots an arrow to a long distance, and another person goes and brings this arrow back. The post is then shaken, if the accused be innocent, he will, up to that time, by holding his breath, have been able to remain at the bottom, and on this signal he will come up to the surface. But if guilty, he cannot any how stay so long under water.

### *Incantations*

Furthermore, several of the people of this country practise magic and incantations. For instance, they can roguishly transfer their neighbour's curds to their own stock, as the following instance will show. A respectable man relates that he was the guest of a woman residing in a village, and that she had but the curds of the milk of one cow. However, about the time she was going to make the butter, she stepped over to a neighbour's house on pretence of fetching fire, and there the woman of the house had a large dish of curds before her, which she was preparing to make into butter, the

witch wrought her spells, and retraced her steps, and from the curds of the milk of her one cow she made about ten times the usual quantity of butter!

### *Ostcomancy*

The science called *Shana*<sup>1</sup> is known to some of the hill-people, who are called "*Mansing*." From certain indications on a fresh shoulder-blade, they learn what they wish to know, and it comes to pass accordingly. A party of hill men, driven from their homes by fear of their enemy, were pursuing their way. Having yet gone but a little distance, the *Mansing* said that he saw from his *Shana* that they were both pursued by troops, and that there was no escape except by artifice. The party were ordered to empty all the leathern water-bags on the ground, and then to pass over the spot. It so chanced that a *Mansing* was also among the enemy's forces, he, too, consulted his *Shana* for intelligence of the fugitives. It showed him that they had crossed over a stream. This disheartened the pursuers, who turned back, and thus the former were saved. This is but a slight illustration of what this tribe can do by the use of the *Shana*.

*Another Custom*—Several ropes, confusedly entangled, are thrown on to the ground, and their unravelling reveals secret things.

### *Other Sindian Customs —Liver-eaters—Trackers—Ornithocritics*

There are also women who feed on liver,<sup>2</sup> and foretell things to come, as will be shown in the history of Mirza Muhammad Báki<sup>3</sup>

Again, there is the science of *Jogni*, this is chiefly in vogue with women. An example of it will be shown in the history of Rai Dhir.

There is a tribe entitled *Bawaratya*, who go about in the guise of beggars, professing to explain mysteries and past events, and thereby deceive men. They also make predictions of the future, which seldom come true.

Some men are so skilful in the art of tracking footprints, that

<sup>1</sup> The common people call it *Phanni*. It is the '*Ilmu-t' Akuf*' of the Arabs, and

they can tell whether they belong to men or women, strangers or acquaintances, old or young, so also they can distinguish the prints of horses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes. They can pursue the tracks of thieves over hills and through deserts, and possibly they can even follow them through water.

Again, there is a tribe in the Kach district, who can prognosticate good or evil from the call of the partridge, and they can likewise predict the good or bad fortune of travellers from the cries and calls of other birds and beasts. A person relates—"I was journeying with a party, one of whom said, 'I must hurry on, do you follow at your convenience, for I find, from the cry of a bird, that guests have arrived at my house, and also that such and such a friend has just died'—and, indeed, so it proved."

Some of the marvels of this country will be found described under their proper heads, and the wonders of the hills will be mentioned towards the end of the narrative.



### *The story of Sassi and Pannun*

A Brahman named Nániya, and his wife Mundhar, people of consideration, who dwelt at Bhámbaráwah, subject to the authority of Dalú Rái, were desirous of having a child born to them. After a while they were blessed with a daughter, the envy of the full moon. It was revealed to her parents that she was destined to be married to a Musulmán. Dreading this family disgrace, the parents, with wounded hearts, enclosed that unique pearl in a box—her shell, as it were—and cast it into the river. The current chanced to carry it to the city of Bhambúr, where there lived a washerman named Nahiya, who was also styled Lála, he had 500 apprentices, but not one child. When the box came into some of the apprentices' possession, they took it to their master, who opened it, and this moon<sup>1</sup> of God's power shone out therefrom. He called her Sassi,<sup>2</sup> which signifies "moon," and adopted her as his own. As she grew up, the lancet of her love pierced the hearts of beauty's flower-

<sup>1</sup> [Here is an equivoque on the word *mdhe* or *mahi*, "moon" and "fish"]

<sup>2</sup> [Sans. *Sassi*]

cullers. Every one who saw her wished she was his own, and all people surrendered their hearts to her, wherever she seated herself men crowded round her like the cluster of the Pleiades, and hovered around her like the constellation of the Eagle. At that time the caravans of Kíeh and Mahrán arrived in those parts with a variety of merchandize, and the praises of this "piece of the moon" were conveyed to the ears of Pannún, son of the Chief of Kíeh. He lost his heart, and repaired to Bhainbúr in the guise of a merchant, where he saw Sassí, and was much enamoured. By good fortune the seeker found a place in the heart of the sought, then in the hope of meeting her, he became one of her father's apprentices, and dressed himself as a washerman. I leave out many incidents to avoid prolixity, but the short of it is, that Sassí returned his love with more than equal ardour.

A goldsmith's wife, who longed to gratify her amorous inclinations, sought to bring about the separation of these two lovers, by exciting Pannún's jealousy. The devoted Sassí came out of it unsullied, like gold from the raging fire, and became an example to the world. After a while these two lovers were married. Pannún's father on learning this, desired his other sons to bring back the infatuated one by some means or other. They went and had an interview with Pannún, and became his guests. At night-fall, without his waking, they bound him on a camel, and set off towards their own country. Towards morning Sassí awoke, and found that she had been robbed of her living treasure. No longer mistress of herself she tore her garments in despair, and set off alone in quest of her lost one. With the feet of affection she traversed the rugged hills, and after accomplishing a distance of about forty kos, she fell exhausted from thirst, and was convulsed, striking her feet on the ground in the agony of death. By the power of God a pool full of water was produced, of which she drank, and found fresh strength. Persons say that the pool remains

after she awoke, and which she carried with her, she now planted on this hill, by the power of God the branch grew to be a tree, and still remains a monument of that bleeding heart.

Not to be tedious, after being thus refreshed, Sassí hurried forward, and accomplished six or seven kos further through the same hills, when she was again distressed by thirst. A shepherd accidentally espied her from a distance, and cast longing eyes on her, and approaching, desired to carry her off. Thereupon she upbraided him with injustice, and requested that he would, at least, procure some refreshment for her, thirsty and tired as she then was, before taking her off. The shepherd hastened to his flock to get some milk. While this was going on, Sassí, who despaired of finding any trace of her lover, and finding herself thus fallen into evil, vented the anguish of her heart before the Almighty (who is the comforter of the helpless), and put up a petition for protection against that demon of the desert. Instantly, by the divine power, the hill was rent asunder, and gave a place to that half dead and stricken lover like a ruby lying in the matrix, and, as a warning and memorial, a corner of her scarf was left visible. When the shepherd returned with the milk, and saw this instance of Divine power, he repented himself, and raised a tomb of stones over her, according to custom.

The tellers of love stories, which cut the heart like sharp diamonds, relate that when Pannún, all in chains, was carried before his father, his restlessness began to shew itself to such a degree that his father was alarmed for his life, and, there being no help for it, he desired his brothers to go with him, and in any way that could be managed, restore his beloved to him. As they were travelling back, Pannún arrived at the place where Sassí was entombed, and seeing the fresh traces, stood amazed. The mutual attraction of hearts revealed this to him. For outward evidence he set about inquiring into the circumstances. The shepherd before spoken of happened to arrive just then, and related everything as it had occurred. Pannún instantly dismounted from his camel, and begged his brothers to wait one moment, as he wished to pay a pilgrim's visit to this tomb. Then, having thrown himself upon it, he cried aloud to the Almighty, beseeching that he might be joined to his

love As no petitioner before God is ever left without hope, so by His power the hull at once opened and admitted Pannun He and his mistress were thus encased, as it were, like twin almonds in one shell The loves of these two, both lovers and both beloved, are still chanted in verses by the Sindians, at a place called Husamī, and people thus seek and find a mode by which they may soar from worldly affection to spiritual love<sup>1</sup> In truth, this narrative has a wonderful effect on the hearers and narrators, and Mīr M'asum, of Bhakkar, has wrought it into a poem, entitled "Husn o Náz" (or beauty and blandishment), and Kāzi Murtazā Sorthi, a resident of the village of Katāna, composed a poem, of a peculiar rhythm, on it in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bīdshāh He relates this story—A Darwesh named Ism'āil, an inhabitant of Multan, came on a pilgrimage to see these two wonderful persons of the world of love and affection, and having left his camel at a distance, sat down and fasted three days, in the hope of seeing the two lovers At the end of that time an old woman appeared to him, bringing some bread and water, but he flatly refused to eat or drink till he had seen Sassī and Pannún She replied that she was Sassī, and desired him not to expect to see Pannún, for there was no dependance to be placed on things of this world, and that she was harassed by her kindred, who had reduced her to that condition The Darwesh said—'How can I believe this, for Sassī was young and beautiful, and thou art an old crone' On these words, she was transfigured to her pristine beauty and youth, and she bade him eat something The Darwesh said, "I will rather die of hunger than eat before I have seen both of you thus have I vowed" After repeated adjurations, Sassī descended into the grave, and showed Pannun as far as his waist, but she herself encircled him all the while with both arms, for fear some one should carry him off In short, many elders of pure heart have thus seen them That road is not passable for any one riding a camel, but whosoever keeps awake by night at the tomb, is

<sup>1</sup> This story, as well as many others connected with the legendary lore of Sind, is very well told by Jt Burton He calls the hero and heroine Pannu and Sassu.—See the *Unhappy Valley*, vol I, pp 81-88, and *Sindh*, pp 57, 92-106 Mrs Postans also gives it as a legend of Kach'h



feasted by an unseen hand, notwithstanding that the place is an utter desert

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*The Genealogy of the Jats and Bulúchis*

Muhammad, son of Hárún Makríní, who will be noticed in the series of governors of Makrán, and who, at the time of the conquest of Sind, accompanied Muhammad Kásim as far as Armanbela, where he died and was buried, was, as appears from the genealogical table of the family, a grandson of Muhammad, son of Abán, son of 'Abdu-r Rahím, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l Matlab. Once on a time, the pursuit of some beast of the chase, carried the Amír Hamza (may the favour of God restore him!) a long distance into a desert, where he found himself in solitude. As the Almighty watches with a special providence over his chosen ones, a fairy appeared in that desert for Hamza's company, and by the divine permission, he consorted with her, and this dissipated his sense of loneliness and dreariness. The fairy afterwards, by the divine power, became invisible, and the Amír reached his own country. The fairy bore a son by him, viz, 'Abdu-r Rahím. To be brief, Muhammad, son of Hárún, had fifty sons born to him from seven women, as follows — I The first wife, Hamírí, bore—1 Isá, 2 Mihran, 3 Hajjáz, 4 Sahtak, 5 Bahrám, 6 Rustam, 7 Jalál II His second wife bore—1 Muzíd, 2 Jamál, 3 Ráda, 4 Buhlól, 5 Shaháb, 6 Nízám, 7 Jalál, 8 Muríd III Miriam bore—1 Rodín, 2 Músá, 3 Notí, 4. Nuh, 5 Mandah, 6 Razíu-d dín. IV 'Aísha bore Jalál V Muddí bore—1 Ádam, 2 Kamál, 3. Ahmad, 4 Humád, 5 Hámíd, 6 Sa'íd, 7 Mas'úd VI Fátima bore—1 Sher, 2 Koh, 3 Buland, 4. Gurg, 5 Núru-d dín, 6 Hasan, 7 Husain, 8. Sulaimán, 9 Ibráhim VII. Eve bore—1 'Alam, 2 'Alí, 3 Sarkash, 4 Bahádur, 5 Teghzan, 6 Mubárák, 7 Turk, 8 Zalha, 9 'Arabí, 10 Shíráz, 11 Táju-d dín, 12 Gulistán-Barg

After Hajjáj had subdued all opposition in Makrán, as is recorded, he died, and that principality was divided between the children of Jalál, who took one-half, and the other half was shared by all his brothers. After a short time contentions sprang up among

the brothers, the greater part of their descendants mixed with the people of the country and dwelt there, but the descendants of Jalálu-d dín, having been worsted, repaired to Sind and Kach, and their descendants are spread in numberless divisions throughout that country

*The Tribe of Lodh, also called Loh*

Their origin is this, that king Sulamán (the prophet, peace be to him!) sent a party of Genu to Rúm to purchase female slaves. On their return back, one of the Genu formed a connection with a girl named Lohá, who became pregnant by him. On king Sulamán hearing of this, he gave him the girl. The child was named Lodh, and his descendants, generation after generation, intermingled with the Arabs, and at the time of the conquest of Sind, came to dwell there,—or perhaps they may have come there before that period.

*Genealogy of the Samma Tribe*

Sám, as some affirm, was the son of 'Umar, son of Hashám, son of Abí Lahub, and according to others, he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akarma, son of Abí Jahl. The title of Jám renders it probable that he was descended from Jamshíd. He is commonly considered to be the son of Núh. Jám, the son of Núh (peace be to him!), had four sons —1 Budhá, who had sixteen sons, among whom were Budh, Súra, Sahta, Akhíl, Autár, Ámra, Handir, and others, they were styled Ráthor, 2 Sanká, 3 Hambar, 4 Bhágrat, who had one son named Dera, whose son was Ajípar, whose son was Dasrat.

Dasrat had three wives, viz.,—Kasíla, Kaihyá, and Simiyá, by the first of these he had two sons, Bám and Lakhman, the second bore Barat, and Símiá had Chatargun. Sanká, son of Sám, also left descendants, and Hambar, son of Sám, had a son named Todar, and Barat, son of Dasrat, had four sons, named Pariháar, Jánsupá,

son was Kan, and the city of Kan was so called from him, and the son of Kan was styled Sambút Rájá, who had four sons—1 Sám, 2 Barkarara, also called Sháh, 3 Hanrat, also called Dakan, 4 Máda

Sám, the son of Sambút Rájá, had a son named Jádám Jádám had four sons —1 Haibat, whose son was Sind Samma, 2. Gaypat, whose son was Chughda, 3 Bhúpat, from whom the tribe of Bhattís sprung, 4. Chúra Samma His son was Rái Dayách, who became chief of Gurnál, a fort in the district of Sorath, and famous for the pomp of his retinue He sacrificed his head as a religious offering His wife Sorath was devotedly attached to him The strong affection of this couple, together with the story of the sacrifice, is the subject of a most affecting tale, still sung at Sorath Haibat, son of Jádám, son of Sám, son of Sambút, had a son named Rídarí, whose son was Nít, who had a son Nútár, whose son was Audhár, whose son was Audh, whose son was Lákhyá, whose son was Lákha

Lákha founded a kingdom, and having allied himself in marriage to Pothí Cháda, she brought him four sons Of these one was Audh, who died without issue, and whose place of residence was called Audh, another was Mahír, he had four sons, viz,—1 Satya, 2 Dítar Pátharí, 3. Darhá, who had no children, 4. Sánd, he also had no issue Lákha took to himself another wife in his old age, by whom he had also four sons, viz,—1 Unar, 2 Chhatta, who had three sons, Babra, Dankara, and Kalla, 3 Fahal, the father of the celebrated Lákha Faslání, 4. Manahia Unar, son of Lákha, had a son also called Lákha, whose son was called Samma This Samma had two sons,—1 Káka, 2 Jhakra The former became a ruler, and the district of Káka takes its name from him He had two sons—1 Pallí, 2 Ráidan. Masrak Samma one of Pallí's sons, became a chief

Raidan had nine sons—1 Samma, from whom all the Samejas descend, 2 Nútár, from whom sprang all the Núts, 3 Lákha, father of Lanjár, 4. Abra, who had a son called Dáhur, 5 Ná-híya, 6 Chanesar, who was a noted man of his time, 7 Manáhia, 8 Koría—the descendants of these three form the tribe of Mindra, 9 Pallí, who became a chief Pallí had two sons—1 Audh, whose

sons were Bahria and Adeja, who was called Gudaria Pútra (or the son of a shepherd), 2 Sánd, who became the head of a tribe of that name. Sánd had seven sons—1. Káka, whose descendants are called Kakeja Pútra. 2 Jára; 3 Dera; 4 Janceja, 5 Hankúra, who had sons, Audheja, Jakia, Dúrhá. and Hankújá; 6 Dera, whose descendants are the Dera Samma, of Kach: 7 Jam Hothu, who had five sons.—1 Hála, whose descendants are well known. 2 Hankúra, whose descendants are búmiyas of Dhúri, Hankúra, Chár Hankúra, and Rám Deh which places were founded by them: 3 Sáhur, whose descendants founded Sahr Samma and the tribe. 4 Chlána, whose descendants are the tribe of Náhra. 5 Hápar, who had two sons, viz., Bahúja and Jam. Hápar had a son named Kar Ráhu, who had three sons—1. Súr, whose sons Ruhúma, Lákháita, and Jhakra. 2 Samra. 3 Lákha Jam who had a son called Káha. Lákha. Káha had also a posthumous son who was called Káha, after his father

Lákha, son of Káha, brother of Káha before mentioned had twelve sons—1. Jám Juna, whose descendants are the Samra kings of Sind, who dwelt at Sámú, and who will be mentioned in their proper places, 2 Unar, who ruled in Bahria and died without issue: 3 Palli, from whom the Palli Sammas descend. 4 Káha from him are the Súdiani Sammas: 5 Auth,—the Auth Sammas Sálul Sammas and Síkháwat Sammas sprung from him. 6 Jasar whose son was Bahia Pirá, 7 Mankar, who had no son. 8 Abra, the tribe of Abreja, are his descendants, 9 Hankúri Kunwar. 10 Sultan Aut. 11 Ráidan, 12 Lákha. Hankúra Kunwar had three sons—1 Disar, 2 Manáha, 3 Murídá. Disar had five sons—1 Káha. 2 Mála, 3 Rakan; 4 Hankúra. 5 Juna, who had also five sons—1 Khoria, 2 Tájiá, 3 Abra, 4 Buluch. 5 Pímbya. Such of the descendants of the latter as rested in Sind will be mentioned

the ancient inhabitants of the land. Other tribes might be mentioned who succeeded, or even preceded these, but for the sake of brevity, the writer of this book contents himself with specifying only what is actually necessary. Should any one desire a more minute narrative, let him pursue the investigation himself.

*The Governors of Sind under the Ghaznawides and their Successors*

The officers of Sultán Mas'úd possessed themselves of the country of Sind, in succession to those of Mahmúd. Then followed the officers of Maudúd, then the officers of Majdúd, next the officers of Sultán Kutbu-d Dín, and lastly, the officers of Arám Sháh, who are all severally described in the first and second volumes. During the reign of the latter king, his dominions were parcelled into four divisions, one of which comprising Multán, the whole of Sind, and Uch, became subject to Násiru-d dín Kabácha. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán — 1 Ráná Buhnar Sa'ta Ráthor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela, 2 Ráná Sanir, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of Kureja Samma, residing in Túng, lying within the district of Rúpáh, 3 Jaisar, son of Jajji Máohhi Solankí, of Mániktara,<sup>1</sup> 4. Wakía, son of Pannún Channún, who was established in the valley of Síwí; 5 Channún, son of Díta, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhág-nai, 6 Jiya, son of Wariáh, of Jham, or Hemakot, 7. Jasodhan Akra, of Min-nagar district of Bámbarwá.

Further, when Láhore was taken by the officers of Táju-d dín Yaldúz, Malik Nasiru-d dín Kabácha took refuge in the city of Multán, and towards the end of the year 626 H. (1229 A.D.) Malik Khán Khiljí and his people, became masters of the country of Síwistán. Sultán Shamsu-d dín Íltamsh, having deputed his minister Nízamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Asa'd, to besiege Uch, set out for Dehli. Uch surrendered quietly to Nízamu-l Mulk in A.H. 625 (1228 A.D.), and he then hastened to Bhakkar. Násiru-d dín fled, and the vessel of his life was swallowed in up the whirlpool of death. Sultán Shamsu-d dín became lord of Sind. Názru-d dín Muhammad succeeded to the government in A.H. 630 (1233 A.D.) The Sultán Íltamsh died in A.H. 633 (1236 A.D.), and was succeeded

<sup>1</sup> There is a Tára or Tarra, an old site ten miles south-west from Thatta

by Sultan Mas'ud Sháh. During the disturbed state of the country in his reign the army of the Moghals passed the Indus, and laid siege to Uch, but owing to the vigilance of Sultan Mas'ud they were repulsed and retired on Khurásán. Sultan Mas'ud left Mullik Jalalu-d dín Muhammad as governor of Sind, in the room of Násiru-d dín Muhammad. During his government, Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, uncle of Sultan Mas'ud, inherited the throne and crown.

In A. H. 662 (1264 A. D.), Sultan Ghiásu-d dín *ascended the throne* of Dehli, and gave over the provinces of Iktará, Multán and Sind to his son, Sultan Muhammad, who used to go every third year to pay his respects to his father, and stay one year. In A. H. 672 (1283 A. D.), Sultan Muhammad was slain in battle against the army

Sultán Ghiásu-d dín, arrived at Multán in A.H. 728 (1328 A.D.) and put him down. Then having deputed trusty persons to Bhakkar and Siwistán, he returned. In A.H. 751 (1350 A.D.), while in pursuit of the slave Taghí,<sup>1</sup> having traversed Guzerát and Kach, he arrived in the district of Thatta, and encamped at the village of Tharí on the banks of a river. From thence he removed in consequence of an attack of fever, to Gandál,<sup>2</sup> where he got well. He then returned and encamped about four kos from Thatta, where he had a relapse of fever and died.

Sultán Fíroz Sháh succeeded him. Taghí, who was at Thatta, on learning this, hastened to give battle at the head of the tribes of Suinra, Járeja, and Samma, but was defeated. The Sultán quitted the environs of Thatta on the first day of the month of Safar of the above year, and ordered a fort to be built on the river Sánkra, and Amir Nasr was left there with 1000 horse. He founded a city called Nasrpúr, and Malik Bahrám was made ruler of it, and the surrounding districts. Bahrámpúr was named after him. Malik 'Alí Sher, and Malik Táý Káfúri were left in Siwistán, and the Sultán went to Bhakkar. He appointed Malik Ruknu-d dín his vicegerent, and Malik 'Abdu-l Azíz as minister of finance, and garrisoned the fort with a body of chosen troops. He conferred the title of Ikhlás Khán on Malik Ruknu-d dín, and entrusted him with the affairs of all Sind. He then went to Dehli. In A.H. 772 (1370 A.D.), after the conquest of Nagarkot he proceeded to Thatta, whose chief, Jám Khairu-d dín retired to a fort upon the water, and there collected troops. Scarcity of provisions, and superabundance of mosquitos, forced the Sultán to return to Thatta. Jám Khairu-d dín submitted, came in, and paid his respects. The Sultán carried him towards Dehli with all the other Zamíndárs, and when near Sihwán, upon learning that the Jám intended to flee, he had him put in chains. Sometime after this, he invested Jám Júna, son of Khairu-d dín with a *khil'at*, and appointed him to his father's post.

In A.H. 790 (1388 A.D.), Fíroz Sháh died, and was succeeded on the throne of Dehli by Sultán Tughlíq Sháh. Then followed Sultán

<sup>1</sup> ["Rebel"]

<sup>2</sup> This place is about thirty miles from Gurnár or Jánagarh

Abú Bakr, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, Sultán Sikandar Sháh, and then Sultán Násiru-d dín, who sent Sárang Khan to take possession of Debálpúr, Multán, and Sind <sup>1</sup>

In A. H. 800 (1397 A.D.), Mirza Pír Muhammad, grandson of Amín Timúr, crossed the river (Indus) and laid siege to the fort of Uch Malik 'Alí, who was there on behalf of Sárang Khán, kept him in check for a month, and Sárang Khán despatched Málik Táju-d dín to his aid with 4000 men. Mirzá Pír Muhammad then raised the siege, marched from Uch, and defeated him. He then commenced the siege of Multán. After a siege of six months, Sárang Khán yielded and surrendered Multán. About this time, A. H. 801 (1398 A.D.), Tímúr himself arrived at Multán. From this time dates the downfall and cessation of the authority of the Sultáns of Dehli over the governors of Sind, who raised the standard of independence, as will be now related.

### *The Tribe of Sámra*

A portion of this tribe had got possession of parts of Sind before the time above-mentioned, so that the whole term of their authority may be reckoned at 550 years. Historians—observing their first appearance after the 'Al-i Tamím, who were the last governors on the part of the 'Abbásides—date the rule of the tribe from that time. When, as we have related, the administration of the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznvide and Chorí kings, this tribe enjoyed full and undivided power. They sprang from the Arabs of Sámra, as has been mentioned before, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Híjra.

It is said that Chhota Amrání, brother of Dalú Rái Amrání, was so much grieved at his brother's injustice which occasioned the ruin of the city of Alor, and clouded the prosperity of the city of Bhambará, that he repaired to Baghdád and obtained from the Khalíf 100 Arabs of Sámra whom, with the 'Ulamái Musawí, he brought to Sind, of whom more hereafter. At last, Dalú Rái submitted to the Saiyid and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Saiyid settled in Sind, and left descendants, and the town of Mut'alwí is their abiding place.

<sup>1</sup> Here is a further error in the Dehli annals, which is :  
Mir Masúm.



In short, as we have before said, in A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) Ghāzī Malik march on Dehli, with an army collected from Multān and Sind, and overthrew Khusrú Khán. Then, ascending the throne, he assumed the style and title of Ghúasu-d dīn Tughlik Shah, and devoted himself to the government of his new dominions

The Súmras then collected a force from the neighbourhood of Tharí, and placed a man named Súmra on the throne. He settled the frontier of his country, and married the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, who had set up a claim to independence. To him was born a son named Bhúngar, who on his death succeeded him in the government. After him, his son Dúdá brought the country as far as Nasrpúr into his possession. Dúdá died, leaving a son of tender age, named Singhar, so Tarí, daughter of Dúdá, took the government into her hands, but made it over to her brother when he arrived at years of discretion. Singhár pushed his way in the direction of Kach, and subjected the country as far as Báng-nai. He left no son, so his wife Hemú appointed her brothers to the government of the cities of Túr and Tharí. After a brief interval, a Súmra named Dúdá, who was ruling in the fort of Dhak, assembled his brethren from all sides, and extirpated the brethren of Hemú. At this juncture Dádu Phatú, a descendant of Dúdá, rebelled, and collecting a foreign force, he for some time carried on the government. After him, Khaurá became ruler. Then Armíl became the master of the state. So the Sammas rebelled and slew him. This happened in the year 752 Hijra (1351 A.D.). The history of this family, from its rise to its fall, the number of its princes, and the causes of its decline, are very discordantly narrated. Thus the Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh says that when the sovereignty was inherited by 'Abdu-r Rashid, son of Mahmúd, of Ghazní, it was soon perceived that he was lethargic and weak-minded. The men of Sind were therefore refractory and rebellious, and in the year 445 Hijra (1053 A.D.), the men of Súmra collected in the vicinity of Tharí, and raised a man named Súmra to the seat of government. This man reigned independently for a long period, and, marrying the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, he died leaving a son named Bhúngar as his successor. Bhúngar, son of Sumra, reigned fifteen years, and died in the year 461 Hijra (1069



tion indicated, and on reaching its vicinity put up within view of the palace Múmal, on learning of their arrival, despatched a sharp slave girl to ascertain their quality, and bring the most important person of the party to be hospitably entertained.

First Hamír went with the girl, but she outstripped him, and he, on beholding that deep imaginary river, returned without attaining his object, and for very shame said nothing. The next night the girl came again, and bade one of the other strangers accompany her, but he also returned as Hamír had done. On the third night, the same thing happened to the third man. On the fourth night, Ráná Mendra set out with the girl, and when she wished to precede him, according to her custom, he seized the skirt of her garment, and put her behind, saying that it was not proper for slave girls to precede their masters. When he reached the visionary river he was puzzled for a moment. On sounding the depth of the water with the lance which he had in his hand, he found it had no real existence. He at once passed over, and saw the lions at the gate, but throwing his spear at them, he found they were not really alive.

He then pursued his object, entered the palace, and went into the sofa room, there he saw seven sofas or thrones, all of the same kind, and thought to himself that one of them must be especially intended to sit on, and that perhaps there was some deception about them. He then probed each with his spear, found out the substantial one, and sat down cross-legged upon it. The girl informed Múmal of the circumstances, and of his sagacity. She instantly came out, they were mutually pleased with each other, and the marriage knot was firmly tied. Mendra passed the night in rapturous enjoyment, and repaired early in the morning to the presence of Hamír and his friends, to whom he related his adventures. Hamír said, "As the woman has now become your own, you must be pleased to let me see her once." Accordingly, at night, Mendra took Hamír with him, dressed as a shepherd. Hamír bore the Ráná some ill-will for having set aside the respect due to him, he therefore carried him off to his own city, and placed him under arrest. As Mendra had given his heart to Múmal, he, with the princess, <sup>STHAN UN K</sup> every night secretly mounted a

very swift she-dromedary, who could perform five ordinary day's journey and back again in a single night, and having seen his beloved, and enjoyed the charms of her company, returned to his prison

It chanced that one night Múmal had gone to see her sister. Mendra returned, and suspecting something wrong, became displeased, and gave up going any more. The innocent Múmal was greatly distressed at Mendra's displeasure, and quitted her own residence and country. Having arrived at the city where Mendra dwelt, she built a palace adjoining his, and had windows placed opposite to his windows that she might sometimes see him. Mendra, shrouded in displeasure, closed his windows on that side, and Múmal then built a palace opposite another face of Mendra's, and so on, opposite to each of its four faces, but did not succeed in seeing her beloved. At last, when Múmal saw that Mendra had entirely averted the face of regard from her, she breathed a sigh of anguish, and, wounded by despair, gave up her life. Intelligence of this was conveyed to Mendra, and since a lover powerfully affects the heart of the beloved, and as the attraction of hearts in the world of unity tends to one and the same object, he instantly, on hearing these lamentable tidings, sighed and expired. This story is sung in Sindi verse at certain established places, and religious devotees are transported to raptures and heavenly visions of Divine love, on hearing it. A certain Mullá Mukim has written this story in Persian verse and called it 'Tammam-i Ishk' or the song of

Kaunrú's companions, said to her, tauntingly, "Perhaps you entertain thoughts of being married to Chanesar, since you practice so many fine airs, and are so affected" Thus taunt pierced Kaunrú's heart, and without even having seen Chanesar's face, she became desperately in love with him, and almost beside herself. When Marghín, her mother, found this out, she apprised Raná Khangár of it. As a matrimonial alliance with Chanesar was the greatest honour of the day, and there seemed no way of accomplishing that except by stratagem, the Ráná advised Marghín to take their daughter in the garb of a merchant to Chanesar's town, without letting any one know of her so doing, and before Kaunrú should become the victim of despair, and thus perhaps Chanesar himself might become ensnared in the net of good contrivance. Agreeably to this recommendation, Marghín set out with her daughter and some merchandize, crossed the river Parpat, and leaving her own country of Dhat, soon entered the Dowal territory, and arrived at the city where Chanesar lived. She sent a message through a gardener's wife, to Jhakra, Chanesar's Wazir, intimating her desire for a union. Chanesar—devoted to Lailá, whose beauty and charms might excite the jealousy of the celebrated Lailá—returned for answer that he wished for none but Lailá, bade the gardener's wife beware of bringing more such messages to him, and directed the new comers to be sent away, lest Lailá should hear of them, and be annoyed. On being informed of this, Marghín sold her merchandise, and went one day into the presence of Lailá, in the garb of a poor stranger beggar woman, saying—"Adverse circumstances have driven me and my daughter far from our own country, in spinning thread we have no equals, if you will kindly take us as your slaves, we will so serve you as to merit general approval." Lailá took them both, and was pleased with their work. After some time, the arrangements of Chanesar's bed-chamber became Kaunrú's special charge. Kaunrú one night thought of her own country, and of her splendid position there, and her eyes filled with tears. Chanesar, seeing this, asked her what was the matter. She answered that she had raised the wick of the lamp, and then scratched her eye with the hand with which she did it, which brought the tears into her eye. On hearing this,

Lailá was very pressing to learn the truth, and Kaunrú, after much pressing, said, "The truth is, I am the daughter of a sovereign, of such wealth, that the lustre of his jewels serves him for night-lights, hence the smoke of the lamp confused my brain, and the recollection of past days entered my head, and I wept that they were no more." Lailá asked her for proof of the truth of this pretension, she instantly produced a most delicate dress, such as Lailá had never seen, with a necklace worth nine lakhs of rupees. Lailá was charmed with such precious rareties, and desired to have them. Kaunrú and Marghin said, "We will give them on condition that you give us Chanesar for one night." As most women are wanting in understanding, she agreed to the terms, and one night, when Chanesar was drunk, she made him over to Kaunrú. Chanesar passed the entire night in unconsciousness, and when he awoke in the morning, was astonished at finding who it was he had in his bosom. Kaunrú's mother was all night on the alert as to what should happen. Finding in the morning that her daughter's object was not accomplished, she began muttering from behind the curtain, "how strange it is that Lailá should sell such a husband as Chanesar for a mere necklace! and that he should be ignorant of this, it is not fitting that a man should again consort with such a wife." Chanesar hearing this, looked lovingly on Kaunrú, she told him the whole particulars of her story from beginning to end. He then said — "Since the case is thus, be of good heart, for I am no more Lailá's, and I will love you with my whole heart."

On Lailá hearing of what had taken place, all her stratagems were futile, her constant union was changed to utter separation. After the lapse of a long time, she returned to her paternal village, and passed her time in solitude. Before this affair, a girl from the family of Lailá had been betrothed to the minister Jhakra, but after what had happened to Lailá her relations would not give the girl to him. As he was bent on the match, he tried many devices to bring about the marriage, but all in vain. Lailá sent word to him that if he could by any means contrive to bring Chanesar with him,